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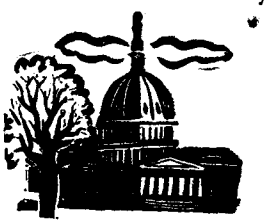
WASHINGTON WIRE

THE BEST SHOW in Washington now is Congress. It quits in three weeks unless it decides to hold sessions between conventions. It can't possibly pass all the bills before it. Those dropped now must start from scratch in the next Congress. The crush of bills is terrific. Legislative leaders have been waiting for this climax for two years. They sit icily calm in the center of the pre-adjournment madhouse. Now is the time for them to pay off favors, extort tribute, show authority.



The 80th Congress quits in the fond belief that its successor will be even more reactionary. This belief seems justified. The world is moving Left, America's government Right. Republicans are so certain they will sweep the nation that they are postponing some of the tougher issues. "Why give Truman the comfort of cracking down now?" is the cheery comment. "Avoid a veto with Vandenberg!"

That's the idea behind proposed interim extension of the Reciprocal Trade Act, the Farm Price Support Act, the Lilienthal appointment. "Time enough for a GOP tariff boost *next* year," Republicans gleefully remark. The grab by the natural-gas interests in the so-called Rizley bill has been postponed, not killed. If the Bulwinkle bill, giving special anti-trust exemption to the railroads, is vetoed now, the motto is, "It will be fine in forty-nine."

The Republicans are the new '49-ers. There's gold in them thar bills. Most people haven't heard of the O'Hara bill, a small measure but typical. This strikes at the Federal Trade Commission's power to halt false advertising claims; its artless purpose is to restore patent medicines and gaslight nostrums to their old glory. It's only a small proposal in its way—nothing like the tidelands-oil grab—but we are fond of it: hurray for free enterprise and quack cancer cures!

The departing 80th Congress faced two real tasks at the start: end the housing shortage and cut living costs. It has done nothing on either. Bob Taft, that old Socialist, put a modest public-housing provision in his housing bill. But GOP House leaders have the whip hand. Martin, Halleck and Wolcott say this subversive feature must come out or the bill is dead. They are right, too. In the final three weeks they have the veto.

As for living costs, they hit a new, all-time high in April, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, and look as if they were climbing.

The stock market meanwhile is frisking upward. And why not? Congress passed a tax-reduction bill giving a bricklayer three-percent benefits, a millionaire a 44-percent cut. All told, 40 percent of the benefits went to five percent of the taxpayers. What has happened? Our esteemed contemporary *Business Week* circularized a representative group of business executives making more than $15,000 a year, asking them what they proposed to do with the congressional largesse. The answers showed they would spend 26 percent, save 74 percent, and of the latter put 52 percent into common stocks. Simple, eh?

On the basis of the juicy tax cut, *Business Week* figured that half a billion dollars would show up in the stock market, and now it has. There are other reasons too, no doubt, but don't stint praise for the good old 80th for giving the poor man dollar butter and the rich man US Steel preferred at 140.

Stassen's guard slipped in Oregon, and Dewey was in like a flash. We don't honestly think Stassen wanted to "outlaw" the Communist Party. It just sounded good and brought big cheers

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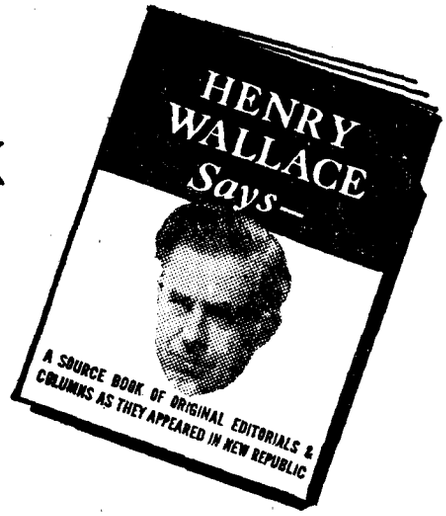

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when he said it. In the Oregon radio debate last week Dewey favored the Mundt bill because it didn't outlaw the party and Stassen favored it because it did, which seems to tell the story of the Mundt bill.

Now that the open primaries are over, the serious job of letting the bosses pick the real candidate is on. Since the Democratic chances look slim, the GOP bosses are really picking the next President. Wonder who they plan to give us? A one-term Vandenberg still seems likely. Writing the platform should be fun, too. We still like to quote the GOP plank of four years ago: "The Department of Labor has been emasculated by the New Deal. . . . All governmental labor activities must be placed under the direct authority and responsibility of the Secretary of Labor."

Our impression is that the trade unions aren't going to make much of an effort in this campaign in spite of all the advance fanfare. From what we can gather, they have written off the election pretty much already, save for some congressional contests. Of course one must never underestimate the capacity of Republicans for making mistakes, and we still earnestly believe that there is a huge reservoir of liberalism in America ready to be drawn on if it could find a suitable candidate with some chance of success.

Notes. Relaxed congressional tension over the Soviet "peace offensive" is already evident; the State Department never did expect war-next-year, but to some congressmen the idea comes as quite a shock. . . . Failing to kill the family-size-farm safeguard in Western irrigation allotments, Senator Downey and Representative Harness are trying to oust able Reclamation Commissioner Straus by a bill of attainder. They would put a rider on an appropriations bill limiting his job to professional engineers. . . . Never underestimate the power of the press if it's willing to exert it: murder of CBS correspondent George Polk in Greece puts more heat on reaction there than any event since the Truman Doctrine started.

Washington T. R. B

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VOLUME 118, NUMBER 22, ISSUE 1748, NEW YORK CITY, MAY 31, 1948 **New Republic**

THE WEEK

THE QUNCH GAME

The publicity department of General Aniline and Film Corporation has thought of a fine new plan for improving employee-management relations. The plan, described in a handout as a "brainchild," may be even better than its fathers think.

Qunch is its name. Qunch is a game which, to quote corporation president Jack Frye, "takes advantage of the age-old American interest in games . . . and also gets over to the employees in an interesting and challenging manner basic facts about their company and about the economics of American business."

It also takes advantage of the age-old American interest in a free meal. At their lunch in General Aniline Company cafeterias the employees are given printed slips bearing such questions as: "The 1946 General Aniline balance sheet stated the value of the company's land, buildings and equipment to be worth about $90 million?; about $47 million?; about $25 million?" (answer: $47,641,457); and "Is GAF Director T. Colburn Davis chairman of the board of the Kansas and Topeka Railroad?" (answer: GAF Director Davis is not the chairman of the Kansas and Topeka board; he is chairman of the board of the Missouri and Pacific Railroad).

If the employee is alert enough to know these things he gets a free lunch. If he is the most alert employee for a whole week, he wins free lunches for a whole week. If he is a super Qunch contestant he will be matched with his peers in other plants and be eligible for cash prizes.

The implications for enlightened industry are obvious. All you have to do is reverse the process. People who didn't know the answers wouldn't get anything to eat at all. This is known as Kipling's Law, or the survival of the fittest, and simplifies everything.

MEAT AND BLOOD

MINNEAPOLIS (NR correspondent)

For weeks the news columns of Minnesota papers and large advertisements placed by the Big Four Packers in these newspapers urged GOP Governor Luther Youngdahl to call out the National Guard to suppress "CIO goons." For nine weeks the Governor refused. The packers would neither arbitrate, negotiate nor conciliate, despite Youngdahl's best efforts. They were obviously trying to starve the strikers into submission, and Youngdahl refused to make the state a party to this design.

But finally his hand was forced. The inexorable weapon of hunger turned the trick. The union had agreed that plants might keep maintenance crews, largely to prevent refrigerated meat from spoiling. But Cudahy, at its plant at Newport, near St. Paul, decided to take an advantage. The rumor got around that Mexicans had been smuggled into the plant as scab production workers. The desperate strikers saw red. Without union sanction they went in after them. The "Mexicans" turned out to be strikebreakers imported in box cars from North Dakota. Some were said to be Indians hired by Cudahy from a reservation in Wisconsin.

The local press, and the nationwide wire services, told of smashed machinery, spoiled meat, a plant in shambles. The scabs had been kidnaped and no one knew their fate. Actually the raiders broke some electric lights and smashed up the sleeping equipment provided for the strikebreakers. No machinery was touched. No meat spoiled. A hundred pigs were turned loose. So were the strikebreakers, once they had been taken well away from the plant.

But Youngdahl could hold out no longer. Undeniably there had been lawlessness which local authorities had not been able to stop. The guard was called out, but Youngdahl made it clear he was not declaring martial law. He made another determined effort to find a settlement. Ralph Helstein, head

Ah, Ces Americains!

PARIS (NR correspondent)

THE NEWSPAPER *Combat* gives its readers a brief resumé of Alfred C. Kinsey's book, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male,* and comments: "The results of Kinsey's researches are rather astounding. If laws pertaining to sexual behavior were scrupulously enforced in the US and all offenses punished, only five percent of American citizens would remain at liberty while the remaining 95 percent would be in jail."

No Strings Attached

PARIS (NR correspondent)

WITHOUT COMMENT the newspaper *Combat* publishes a remark reportedly made in Washington by Italian Ambassador Alberto Tarchiani on the occasion of handing over to Willard L. Thorp, Assistant Secretary of State, $5 million in payment of Italian debts owed certain US interests. Said Tarchiani, "The Italian government has no intention of using this payment to influence the coming presidential election in the US."

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of the United Packinghouse Workers, came from Chicago ready to negotiate. But Swift, Cudahy, Armour and Wilson would not budge.

The Minnesota pattern was repeated throughout the country. The only difference was that most local authorities were openly on the side of the Big Four. After 67 days of injunctions, strikebreaking with police aid, and adamant refusal of management to take part seriously in any efforts to reach a settlement, the packinghouse workers gave up.

Except at scattered plants where management refused to arbitrate the rehiring of strikers accused of illegal activities, work was resumed on the terms offered by Swift, Cudahy, Armour and Wilson at the outset—an increase of nine cents an hour. For the first time since the passage of the Wagner Act, a major, nationwide strike had been broken by the good old-fashioned methods popular at the turn of the century. It was a sign of the times.

MARYLAND NEGRO IN HOUSE?

BALTIMORE (NR correspondent)

Now that Baltimore Democrats have turned down liberal Leo H. McCormick and nominated Representative George H. Fallon for reëlection, the New Party believes it has a fighting chance to elect the first Negro to Congress in the state's history. He is Dr. John E. T. Camper, 54-year-old neighborhood practitioner, co-chairman of the Progressive Party, running in the Fourth (Baltimore city) District.

Though Fallon has the support of a well-disciplined party organization in a predominantly Democratic area, the district contains half of the city's Negro voters and the largest concentration of Jewish voters. The latter may choose Camper because he has been a strong supporter of Palestine partition. In addition, the district contains most of the city's liberals and intellectuals, who will hold against Fallon his vote in support of the Rees loyalty bill, and large numbers of workers who will remember his votes to override Truman's vetoes of the Taft-Hartley bill

British Labor Closes Ranks

by Michael Young

SCARBOROUGH, ENGLAND

THE SCARBOROUGH CONFERENCE of the British Labor Party lacked enthusiasm but found new strength in unity. Every delegate elected by the party's five million members knows that within two years there will be a general election in Britain. This knowledge has kept the Labor Party from breaking up under the pressure of the cold war which has polarized continental Europe into Left and Right.

The recent expulsion from the party of John Platts-Mills, Communist Party-line critic of Bevin's foreign policy, and Alfred Edwards, Tory-line opponent of steel nationalization, was accepted by the conference without protest by delegates who know that party discipline must be maintained if coming battles are to be won.

On issue after issue party unity was stressed. The delegates began by casting a vote of confidence in their executives. Of the senior members of the executive committee, only Philip Noel-Baker, Minister of Commonwealth Affairs, was replaced in the voting by Michael Foot, young editor of the weekly, *Tribune,* and a fiery leader of the Keep Left group. In the same spirit, the trade-union delegates continued their endorsement of the government's appeal for a general stabilization of wages until the menace of inflation is defeated in Britain.

In the interest of unity also, the conflict over Labor's future policy was kept under cover at Scarborough. The executive committee succeeded in tabling resolutions on Labor's program in its second five-year term of office. Yet there were angry reactions when Herbert Morrison, the undisputed party manager, stated that consolidation, not full-scale extension of public ownership, would be the watchword in the future.

Cabinet ministers and workers elected from factories agreed as delegates that industries already nationalized should be overhauled. They agreed that nationalization can lead to socialism only if workers really participate in management from the national-board level to that of the colliery and factory, making political and industrial democracy part of the same pattern. They unanimously demanded the nationalization of the steel industry and they made it clear that foreign pressure will not deter them. There was no opposition to ERP. But the executive committee was at pains to point out that, as one member stated: "We will not tolerate interference in the plans and policies of the Labor Government by any country."

From every side there were impassioned declarations for European federation, ranging from the prophets of a socialist European union to supporters of federation backed by Winston Churchill. Replying for the executive committee, Dalton endorsed the aim of a united Socialist Europe, but stressed all the difficulties of federating Europe today. He did not satisfy the delegates, who demand progress.

Ernest Bevin found his usual welcome at this conference and won his usual triumph. Zilliacus and other critics blasted the failures of British policy in Palestine, Greece, Germany and Spain. Bevin was called a petulant prima donna for his sour response to America's mysterious approach to the Kremlin. But Bevin turned all the attacks made on him against America or Russia, avoided any mention of Palestine and won in the end an overwhelming vote of confidence representing solid trade-union support.

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and the one to exclude newspaper vendors from social-security benefits. Moreover, 45 percent of the voters are women, who, the New Party leaders believe, will be more responsive to pledges of peace and lower prices.

The Negro vote, however, is the basis of the New Party hope for Camper. Of the 115,000 registered voters last year, 25,000 were Negroes and 29,000 Republicans. Most of the Negroes are registered Republicans. The Progressives are trying to increase the Negro vote by an aggressive registration drive, on the assumption that all these votes will be Camper's. They hope to win by taking the liberal vote away from the Democrats, the Negro vote from the Republicans, and the labor vote from both.

BAD NEWS HARRY

Truman's Western tour is now being called "non-political." Originally labeled a campaign trip, the billing has been changed to "a routine government business trip," because it dawned on the White House that the Democratic National Committee would have to foot the bill for a "political" junket. And the committee happens to be fresh out of funds. The President's advisers still had every intention of following all the customary practices for such trips in campaign years—that is, until they heard from the Western Democratic politicians.

The tour planners were not overwhelmed with cries of delight from the state Democratic leaders in areas the President plans to visit. In fact, even such loyal Truman supporters as Senators Joseph C. O'Mahoney (Wyo.) and James E. Murray (Mont.) admitted embarrassedly, when sounded out, that they would just as soon not make an appearance on the presidential train in view of their own reëlection campaigns. So, on the "non-political" trip no local politicians will be taken aboard to ride from one state border to another. The only advance man will be Undersecretary of the Interior Oscar Chapman, who is arranging for the President to do a little placating of local politicians as he goes along.

Nevertheless, the tour which Truman will begin on June 3 is a great political gamble. The full press corps will be on board the 17-car special greedily watching at every stop for slips or failures, observing which state party leaders sneak in and out of Truman's quarters and which ones stay away. George Allen, now firmly reestablished at the President's right hand, tried his best to go along to handle these affairs, but the White House Palace Guard (presidential secretary Matt Connelly, counsel Clark Clifford, *et al.*) who are jealous of genial George, managed to cut him out.

Allen will not be on the Truman train—but neither will McGrath. Some weeks ago, Allen persuaded Truman that Jim Farley and Frank Walker, party chairmen of better days, should be called in to help handle this important nomination-bid expedition. Farley has scheduled a combination speaking, book-autographing and Coca-Cola business trip into the very territory that the President is planning to cover about a week earlier.

Truman's political managers are counting heavily on this trip to bring back into the fold those Democratic leaders who have been so rash as to speak out against the President's renomination.

On June 4, a very private dinner has been arranged in Chicago with some thirty Illinois party leaders, including the new Chicago boss, Colonel Jake Arvey, who has been loud in criticism of Truman, as well as former boss Ed Kelly. In a good many other cities such quiet political arrangements will be much more difficult.

Democratic Chairman J. Howard McGrath is praying only a little prayer over the forthcoming trip—that the Democratic Party not be any worse off on June 14, when the President completes his Western tour, than it is today.

ARIAS AGAIN

PANAMA CITY, Canal Zone

Trouble is shaping up here for the US and for democrats generally in the resurgence of Dr. Arnulfo Arias' "Authentic Revolutionary Party." Running on the ticket of this party which is not only "anti-Yanqui" but strongly anti-democratic, Dr. Alberto Navarro has been elected mayor of Panama City. Moreover, Arias, who as president in the early 1940's tried to transform this little republic into a vest-pocket police state along fascist lines, seems to have a good chance of getting back into office.

The remarkable popular support for Arias has ominous implications. In an article in the Panama *American,* the leading bilingual newspaper, a nephew of Arias warns that civil war may break out if he isn't elected to the office from which he was deposed by

"I suppose you're going to be President when you grow up?"—"No comment."

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a coup d'état allegedly approved, if not supported, by the American State Department.

Arias spent the war years in Argentina, where his own admiration for Hitler gave him a welcome among the more extreme anti-US Peronistas. On his return here in October, 1945, he denounced the US for treating Panama as "an inferior and conquered nation." Since then he has been winning support from Panamanians resentful of racial discrimination by US authorities against workers in the Canal Zone, US Army post-exchange competition with local business, and high traffic tolls of the Panama Railroad—a US monopoly.

A PEOPLE INDIFFERENT

A man who holds no elective office rode herd on Congress last week during one of the most crucial debates in its history. The debate was on the Mundt-Nixon bill to control "subversive activities." The man was Robert Stripling, counsel of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Sitting at the elbow of Richard M. Nixon (R., Calif.), co-sponsor of the bill, Stripling passed on all amendments offered by a pitifully small band of Representatives who recognized the dangers implicit in legislating against one political group.

His nod or, more frequently, his disapproval, was final. A complaisant House did his bidding. By the overwhelming margin of 319 to 58, the House passed a bill as perilous to liberty as the notorious eighteenth-century Alien and Sedition Acts.

Ostensibly the Mundt-Nixon bill's purpose was to fight native communism by merciless exposure, on the theory, with which even Thomas E. Dewey agrees, that the more radical step of outlawing the Communist Party would drive it underground with an aura of martyrdom.

The method chosen by Stripling and the other framers of the bill is to invest the Attorney General of the US with extraordinary powers which, they hope, will get around the constitutional pitfall of deciding by legislative act questions traditionally determined by evidence in a judicial manner.

Under the bill a person belonging to an organization which he "has reasonable grounds for knowing" to be affiliated with communism—for instance, one that the Attorney General suspects—is liable to a $5,000 fine and/or two years in jail. The doctrine of guilt-by-association thus gets congressional sanction. The penalties are specific, the definition of offenses vague, the effect on political liberty disastrous.

In other respects the bill proposes equally fundamental changes. One of them is the American tradition of anonymity, a protection without which the Abolitionist Movement would never have flowered nor the great *Federalist Papers* been possible. Now the mail, broadcasts and other communications of the Communist Party and any organization which the Attorney General designates would have to be labeled: "Disseminated by——, a Communist organization." Or by any other label the Attorney General chooses.

So broad are the implications of the Mundt-Nixon measure that even such an ardent anti-Communist as Mary T. Norton (D, N.J.) cried out that "no person can read this bill and not realize that it is directed against labor." As evidence that the Catholic Church opposes it, she read a message from Bishop Francis J. Haas of Grand Rapids calling it "potentially destructive of the moral and civil rights of all Americans."

But neither her words nor the sharp denunciations spoken by Helen Gahagan Douglas (D, Calif.), Chet Holifield (D, Calif.) and a handful of others were to any avail. Stripling had ridden herd so well that he was able to bring word of victory to his bedridden boss, J. Parnell Thomas.

Fortunately two tough barriers—senatorial and presidential approval—still stand between the Mundt-Nixon bill and the statute books. The principal hope is of public pressure behind these barriers. In the words of Justice William O. Douglas, "A people indifferent to their civil liberties do not deserve to keep them, and in this revolutionary age may not be expected to keep them long."

FORD POLICY SHIFT

Ever since Henry Ford II kicked out Harry Bennett and put John Bugas in charge of industrial relations, the Ford Motor Company has paid higher wages than its competitors. A year ago Ford agreed to the first employees'-pension plan ever negotiated by a major automobile producer—but Ford workers, in a referendum, turned it down in favor of larger immediate wage increases.

Now Ford and Bugas have shocked the giant CIO United Automobile Workers with a proposal that Ford wages be cut to the level of Chrysler and General Motors. It was time, they suggested, for the company and union to "work together constructively in the public interest" and help hold down prices.

The union, already embroiled in a strike of 73,000 workers at the Chrysler Corporation, sees little concern for the "public interest" in Ford's proposal. What the leaders think they see is a clear sign that Ford is abandoning its "independent" position and signaling other major US corporations—steel, electrical and automotive—that Ford had joined the general resistance to third-round wage increases.

If Ford is genuinely concerned about the public welfare, said UAW Ford Director Ken Bannon, it would coöperate with the union in demanding expanded steel capacity so that the automotive industry could get steel for seven million, instead of five million, cars annually. It would publish its carefully guarded financial statement and "prove" its inability to raise wages at present prices. It would revoke the $315-$420 price increase recently announced for Mercury.

The Ford conflict with the UAW is not immediately critical because formal wage negotiations are not scheduled to begin until July. But the union

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is prepared to ask Ford for 30-cent-an-hour wage increases and "fringe" advantages which might add up to another 15-20 cents. The important point is that if Ford presses its wage-cutting proposal, the union's tactical position would be damaged in the Chrysler strike and also in negotiations with General Motors, where a strike will threaten on the expiration of a 30-day extension of the old contract.

DOUGLAS MAKING HEADWAY

CHICAGO (NR correspondent)

All three parties in Illinois are busy testing trends—the Republicans to see who will drive their bandwagon, the Democrats to see whether Truman will be renominated, and the Progressive Partyites to see how impressive a showing they can make in November.

Although the state's 56-man Republican delegation, including Colonel Robert R. McCormick, isn't technically committed to any candidate at Philadelphia, it probably will swing to Taft after a complimentary ballot or so to Governor Dwight H. Green. Lieutenant Governor Hugh W. Cross and several other downstaters are talking about Stassen. If Taft doesn't make the grade, Green and his followers will look for the bandwagon and try to get aboard.

The Democratic high command seems split, with Jacob M. Arvey, Cook County chairman, against Truman, and former Mayor Edward J. Kelly, the party's National Committeeman, for him. This division, however, may mean nothing more than working both sides of the street. The Progressive (Wallace) Party pins its hopes on the Senate race of Professor Curtiss D. MacDougall of Northwestern University.

At first, MacDougall said he would not run, and there were vague insinuations of a violation of academic freedom. One Northwestern dean said he feared "MacDougall, who isn't a Communist," would be smeared Red. As matters now stand, MacDougall will be granted a leave of absence so that he can campaign against Paul H. Douglas, Democratic nominee, and the incumbent Republican Senator, C. Wayland Brooks. With MacDougall in the field, Douglas probably has little chance to beat Brooks.

Nevertheless, Douglas is making considerable headway even in the strong Republican counties of southern Illinois, using a new blitz technique that is going over well. Two young advance men visit communities in this region and spend two days distributing handbills announcing Douglas' arrival and telling at which street corners he will speak. Then Douglas comes along in a combination station wagon and sound truck, visiting several towns each day and talking to street-corner audiences in all of them.

Douglas' wife, Emily Taft Douglas, former Representative-at-Large from Illinois, is successfully working the other side of the street. She is currently on a swing of literary teas given by the clubwoman set around the state in honor of a children's book about Johnny Appleseed of which she is the author.

Adlai Stevenson, the Democratic candidate for Governor, is making the rounds of the state in much the same way as Douglas, but he is concentrating on personal contacts with the party-organization leaders. District chairmen and committeemen are asked to central points to listen to Stevenson make a fighting speech against the Green machine.

To prevent the Progressive Party people from luring away the women's vote, the Democrats are planning a series of campaign schools to teach women party workers the latest in political techniques—how to arouse interest in the issues and how to get out the vote. This campaign has put new life into the regular party organization.

HIGH POINT IN STOCKS

NEW YORK CITY

For more than a year the stock market had been as inviting as a cool pool on a hot summer day. The only thing lacking was some signal that things would stay that way. On May 11, some people thought they got the word, and market averages touched a new high for 1948.

On Friday the Dow Jones industrial average neared 186.85—to the followers of the Dow Jones theory the point that signaled a new bull market. When the signal finally came, it unleashed the biggest wave of buying since May 21, 1940. Stocks reached the highest point since September 3, 1946.

On Saturday, the market had the wildest session in 15 years, with 2,590,000 shares changing hands in two hours. Those who had long been urging the public to take advantage of the low stock prices gloated.

A specific interpretation of the market listed income-tax reductions, easing of the foreign situation as indicated by the Italian elections, the Marshall Plan, checking of a third-round wage-increase spiral, the armament program, anti-deflation and its developments, such as the announced Treasury money policy. Another added, "No great actual fear of an early war, combined with hope of a Republican victory this autumn."

But much of the buying money which came into the market last week was from the non-professionals. The word on Wall Street was that for the first time since 1946 the "public" was doing most of the buying, and the insiders were selling, and reaping their profits. As the market started to edge down again, it was apparent that for the time being "the public" had been shorn of some loose cash.

WALLACE IN THE WEST

SAN FRANCISCO (NR correspondent)

Stalin's answer came just as Henry Wallace arrived in San Francisco. It increased, if that were possible, the fervor of his followers and also the already big play he has been receiving in an unfriendly press.

Since Wallace was here a year ago, the Independent Progressive Party has piled up a quarter of a million signatures and won a place on the ballot. Last year Wallaceites were enthusiastic. This year, with the IPP in full operation, they are evangelical. His

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followers feel it's more than a movement in this state. It's the march of destiny. They figure California is the chief Wallace state and will give him a million votes.

When Wallace left the plane at the San Francisco airport (James Stewart, who got off just ahead of Wallace, was ignored by cameramen and reporters), everyone noticed he looked rested, healthier and more confident than on his last visit. He told reporters that "things are looking up for our party."

By noon he was sitting in an ornate dining room in the famous Fairmont Hotel. He was on time, but the lunch of 400 enthusiasts started off an hour late. After that delay, there was a half-hour introduction by William Gailmor, then almost another hour for a collection, before Wallace spoke. Some of the press had to leave without hearing him.

But for most of the 400, just to hear Wallace promise "the new party will not be a flop after November" was enough to repay their patience. Those who had heard him last year were impressed with his new speaking personality—more drama and more emphasis.

Wallace told his luncheon audience, "The most dramatic problem in the world is Palestine. When Palestine is straightened out, the world will be straightened out."

He saw oil as one key to Palestine, ". . . not one cent of American money must be sent to Arabia, regardless of oil-company contracts, until Arab princes learn that each Arab must lay down his arms now held against the struggling state of Israel."

He hoped the Republicans would nominate Vandenberg. "Mr. Truman and Mr. Vandenberg are the same coin, the inside and the outside," he said.

He touched on San Francisco labor problems, the battle of the Longshoremen against the Taft-Hartley Act, to preserve their hard-won hiring halls.

"Labor will not let the New Party down," he predicted. "There is confusion in the top ranks of labor. The rank and file are splendid, just as are some leaders like Hugh Bryson here" (chairman of the IPP and leader of the Marine Cooks' and Stewards' Union, CIO).

Wallace was pleased with his earlier Los Angeles appearances. "Hollywood is the center of strength in Los Angeles," he said. "The movie colony is now recovering from its shell shock." And he remarked that political climate travels from West to East. In Los Angeles he collected $60,000, much of it from movie people—Charlie Chaplin gave $1,000; producer Ben Zukor $2,000, with a pledge of another thousand every month the campaign continues; Lewis Milestone, Donald Ogden Stewart and Vera Caspary also gave $1,000 each.

Wallace was especially delighted with a meeting in Los Angeles of thousands of Latin Americans, whom he addressed in Spanish as well as English.

The poor and the meek listened to him eagerly in San Francisco too. During luncheon at the Fairmont, groups of dishwashers and kitchen helpers clustered outside the dining-room doors, trying to catch a few words of the third-party presidential candidate.

That evening Wallace spoke before 5,500 people in Oakland, across the Bay. He had a good opening: ". . . Premier Stalin has replied to my open letter. . . ." Then Wallace asked the people to help make him the country's next President.

STASSEN SETBACK

PORTLAND (NR correspondent)

The victory of Governor Thomas E. Dewey, of New York, over Harold E. Stassen, of Minnesota, in the strategic Oregon fight for 12 delegates to the Republican National Convention was more a tribute to the effectiveness of the New Yorker's campaign organization and of his own personal campaign than a decision on any issue. It was a remarkable turn-about from the situation only three weeks before when Stassen was viewed as nearly a two-to-one favorite. Under Oregon law, the state's delegates are now pledged to vote for Dewey in the convention until he releases them himself.

Stassen made two major tactical errors. He misjudged the amount of support in this highly conservative state for his proposal to outlaw the Communist Party. And he spread himself too thin in the crucial days immediately before the election.

The communism issue, of which Oregonians were growing very weary, was finally kicked out of the campaign in its closing weeks by a nationwide radio debate. Dewey was astute in spotting Stassen's "outlaw-communism" proposal as an Achilles' heel. In close agreement with his opponent on the local issues of federal investment in Western reclamation, power, flood-control and navigation projects, Dewey concentrated on the one subject on which he could attack Stassen.

That was his first objective. His second was to show the merchants, the farmers and the rural voters in general that he was no stiff, stuffy city slicker. He charmed the women. One who waylaid him in his campaign bus told him she would vote for him because he was "so pink and pretty."

Dewey's victory in the Oregon primary, the last of the state preferential contests, again changes the odds. Dewey returns to the position of favorite that he held before the Stassen upset victory in Wisconsin. And Stassen must begin thinking again of how to cinch second place on the ticket for himself if his big move fails.

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HENRY WALLACE'S COLUMN

America in the Raw

DETROIT REPRESENTS all that is vigorous, driving, inventive, uninformed, confused and groping in American life. In no city has management used more desperate methods to keep labor down. In no city has there been more espionage, not merely on the part of management against labor, but also within the labor movement itself. Since the campaign started, I have received more threats and specific instances of intimidation from the Detroit area than from any other part of the country. Detroit is industrial America in the raw.

The capacity of Detroit for uncontrolled violence was demonstrated by the race riots of 1943. But long before that, informed observers looked on Detroit as the city of great extremes in both politics and economics. It is the city of boom and bust, reflecting all that is good and evil in industrial America.

Exploited labor arose in its wrath and attained a temporary unity as it battled in 1936 and 1937 with the sitdown strike as a weapon. Then the UAW was weak in organization but strong in spirit. Today the UAW is strong in organization but weak and divided in spirit. I talked with men and women on the picket lines at Dodge and Chrysler. These are good people who long to recapture the spirit of 1936 when the auto workers knew where they were going.

The UAW has been divided into two highly organized blocs, with the great mass of the workers in the middle. From my talks with these workers here in Detroit I am sure this tragic schism can be healed. The Chrysler strike may well be a tough, long-drawn-out affair. The men asked for a 30-cent-an-hour increase and agreed to settle for 17 cents. Chrysler offered six cents, and then withdrew even that offer when it got its "line" from Big Steel's complete rejection of any wage rise for the steel workers. The strikers do not think that 17 cents will even hold their purchasing power at the level of early 1945.

I arrived in Detroit the day after I released my open letter to Premier Stalin. The Detroit press paid practically no attention to it. One paper obscured my letter to Stalin by the headline, "Riot Over Anti-Red Movie Follows New York Wallace Rally," followed by extensive discussion of "The Iron Curtain," and finally, at the very end of the story, a brief summary of my letter listing my six specific points. At the press conference I denounced this as distortion and perversion, and complimented the New York *Times* for running my letter in full and the other New York papers for giving such extensive extracts.

The climax in Detroit press distortion was reached the following day when the *Free Press,* in an editorial, said: "It is to be hoped that Henry won't abuse Detroit's proverbial hospitality by bringing his goon squad with him. Up to now his appearances have been the signal for rioting in the European political manner. . . . If there is a disturbance at the Wallace rally at Olympia Thursday night, it will probably be the best fight staged there for a long time." Accompanying this editorial was a cartoon of me marching along after Stalin, who was saying, "We'll moider 'em, Henry."

At none of our meetings has any New Party supporter engaged in violence. The violence has all come from the Right, as uninformed boys, inflamed by editorials like that in the Detroit *Free Press,* have attempted to prevent us from exercising our constitutional right to freedom of assembly.

The thing the New Party stands for above everything else is that we don't want war and we don't want violence. We want peaceful meetings and a fair break over the air and in the press. Thus far we have had a better break on the radio than in the press. When we appear on the air they can't editorialize and distort us, although radio newscasts are a different story.

From time to time our supporters are killed or beaten up in unprovoked attacks. It was just after the shocking murder of Robert New in South Carolina that we reached Detroit and heard another story of violence. At Pontiac, near Detroit, an 18-year-old boy by the name of Carl O'Brien, a senior in high school, had organized, completely on his own, what he called a Progressive Equalist Club. Recently he reached the conclusion that what he really wanted was in line with our program, and so he began to distribute New Party literature. About two weeks ago he was pulled into a car, driven out of the city, flogged with a strap, and told that this was what a fellow like him deserved.

Labor fears that this incident may portend the revival of the Black Legion—the Detroit offshoot of the KKK—which was directed specifically against Jews and Negroes and caused several deaths.

Undoubtedly, according to the definition of the Detroit *Free Press,* Carl O'Brien belongs to Henry Wallace's "goon squad." Thank God that O'Brien, true to the fighting qualities of his name, is not intimidated and is going to carry on—not in terms of violence, but in terms of true Americanism. In the early part of the last century, I had an ancestor by the name of O'Brien, too. We O'Briens are going to keep fighting.

Henry A Wallace

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BORN UNDER FIRE

Bombed and shelled, the people of Israel calmly expect the new Jewish state to win the full freedom their leaders proclaimed

by I. F. Stone

TEL AVIV (by cable)

THERE WAS AN ATMOSPHERE of quiet satisfaction among the crowds of flag-decked Tel Aviv. The gravity of the scene was not untinged by some apprehension among the leaders as the statehood ceremonies began in the Tel Aviv Museum. Fear of an air raid led those in charge to keep the place and time secret from the press until the final hour before the ceremonies.

Correspondents were then taken in taxis to a roped-off, guarded section of Rothschild Boulevard, adjoining Herzl Street, where Haganah military police checked credentials and passed visitors with a salute. An ancient deHaviland scattered copies of the declaration of Jewish independence from a cloudless sky on the crowd gathered before the museum.

Within the main halls of the museum, windows were decorated for the occasion with blue and white Jewish flags and a huge portrait of heavily-bearded Theodor Herzl, the Viennese-Jewish journalist whose book *Der Judenstaat* ("The Jewish State") 52 years before had launched the modern Zionist movement. Among the several hundred crowded into the hall were two old-timers who had been at the first Zionist congress at Basle in 1897, a Dr. Ebner and a Mr. Shalit. One silk top hat and one black, silky fur prayer hat were prominent in the crowd.

The establishment of the new Jewish state of Israel and the prompt announcement of American recognition is in many ways a triumph for the ordinary Jew. For while David Ben-Gurion, a stocky little scrapper, and Premier and War Minister of Israel,

DRAWING BY B. GOLDEN

had ignored events at Lake Success and diplomatic developments in Washington, not a few of his colleagues were worried by the veiled threats which preceded the declaration of statehood.

True, as Moshe Shertok, Foreign Minister of the new state, explained to the press, there were no official threats, only unofficial discussions of the consequences which might follow establishment of the Jewish state.

What went on in the inner circle between the time of Shertok's arrival and the declaration of statehood Friday is not known, but it appears that some leaders were scared that American "threats" might not be a bluff. Fortunately the Jewish man in the street had long ago discounted unfriendliness abroad and was taking for granted that he might have to fight, not only alone but against covert aid to the Arabs by the Anglo-American powers. He assumed that a compromise about statehood was impossible, and had an attempt been made under American pressure to postpone independence, the Jewish Agency government would have been promptly overthrown.

This gravest session in the history of Zionism began at four p.m., and closed thirty-eight minutes later. Thirteen members of the Provisional Cabinet of the new state sat on the dais under a picture of Herzl. Although even the press was instructed to wear dark "lounge suits" for the occasion, the Ministers of Labor and Agriculture resolutely stuck to proletarian principles by arriving in open collars sans the "bourgeois" necktie.

The most striking figure of the thirteen was Ben-Gurion. By the shy fringe of white hair around his impressive bald dome, thick brows, shrewd genial eyes and florid face, the Premier gives a feeling of sturdy cheer. He seems as much a symbol of the Yishuv as Churchill of British resistance during the war. The Polish-born, 61-year-old Premier came to Palestine 42 years ago.

At Ben-Gurion's left sat the second most important figure in the new government, Foreign Minister Shertok, with that Charlie Chaplin type of mustache common to the Balkans, the Eastern Mediterranean and the Arab lands. Shertok studied at the London School of Economics, and was for a time an editor of *Davar*, Palestine's leading labor daily. The third-ranking figure in the government is Eliezer Kaplan, Israel's Secretary-Treasurer, who is an engineer by profession and was already a leader of the Zionist Labor Party in Russia when he came to Palestine in 1923.

These three men, with David Remez, quick-witted labor-federation leader who is Minister of Transport and Communications, make up the representation on the cabinet of Israel's dominant party, the "Mapai," a labor and socialist party which has been running Jewish Palestine, and its powerful labor federation Histadrut, for many years. It thus controls the premiership and the war ministry, Ben-Gurion holding both, and foreign affairs, finance and transport in the new government.

All major parties but the Revisionists

I. F. Stone, chief of the Washington Bureau of the New York newspaper PM, is covering the birth of the new state of Israel for PM and the New Republic. This is his fourth trip to Palestine since the war.

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and the Communists are represented in the Provisional Cabinet of thirteen. The thirty-seven-member Council of State has representatives from all parties. A curious note is that only one member of the Provisional Cabinet is a "sabra" (native-born Palestine Jew), and the age level is high, ranging from the upper forties to the seventies.

The two newest arrivals in the cabinet came in the early 1930's. One is Felix Rosenblueth, Minister of Justice, a lawyer who represents the German group of moderates and Aliya Hadasha (the New Immigration). Rosenblueth was the leader of the Zionist movement in Germany. The other relative newcomer is Fritz Bernstein, Minister of Trade and Industry, who was a well-to-do Dutch businessman.

In this coalition government there has been a noticeable cessation of the fierce, Lilliputian political warfare ordinarily found in this tiny community. Consciousness of a historic struggle has softened party and press comment, as well as mutual recriminations among the leaders. Thus in Tel Aviv, the ceremonies at the Museum of Art Friday afternoon embodied substantial national unity in time of war. Rhetoric and demagogy were absent. After the singing of "Hatikvah," Ben-Gurion read the declaration, then members of the Council of State signed the document while the Palestine Philharmonic Orchestra played "Hatikvah" again from the adjoining room. At 4:38 Ben-Gurion struck the gavel and said simply, "The Hebrew meeting is adjourned, but our State is launched."

During the ceremonies red eyes were noticeable here and there, and a few bowed heads and shaking shoulders. Some wept, no doubt at the thought of loved ones among the pioneers who had not lived to see the day, or for sons or friends who had already fallen in battle, or thought what the day meant to thousands waiting in DP camps in Europe.

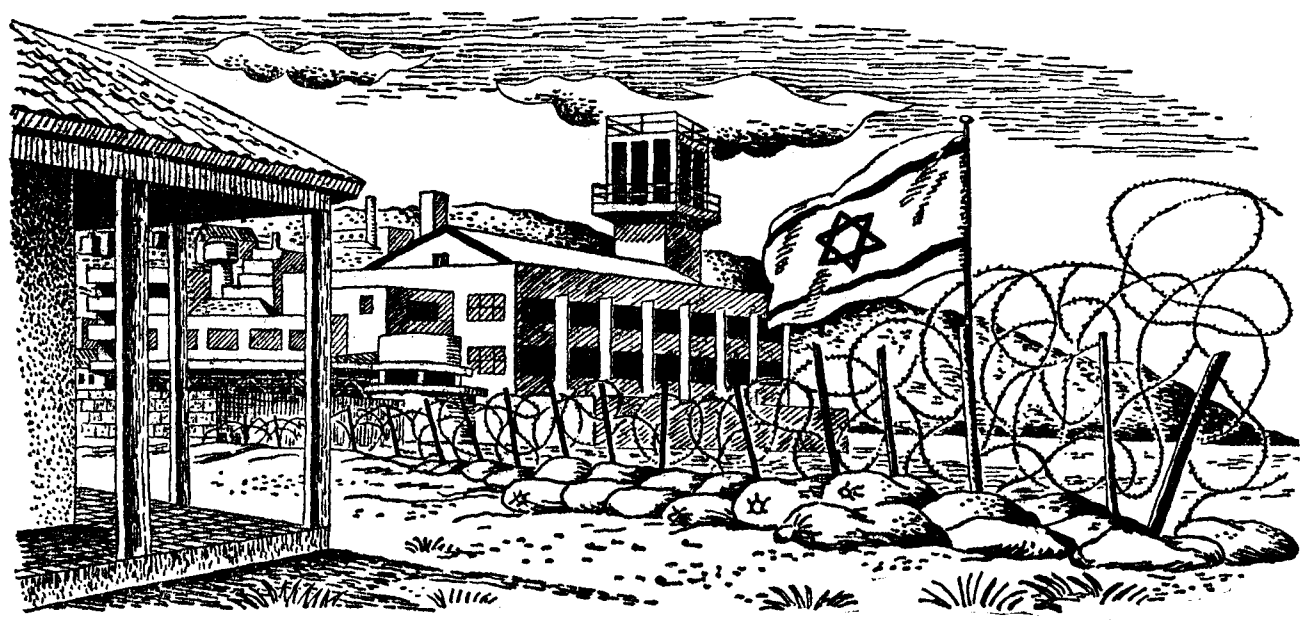
The meeting opened under a pall cast by news of the fall of Kfar Etzion, the first Jewish settlement lost to the Arabs, but ended with good news. During the ceremony, a khaki-clad Haganah messenger called Israel Galilee, dynamic young organizer of the Palmach Commandos, from the hall. He is one of the ablest of the younger leaders in Palestine and is a member of the new left-wing labor Mapom. Galilee returned bearing the message he handed Ben-Gurion during the signing of the declaration.

Later we heard from Haganah leaders that western Galilee was in Jewish hands and that the ancient fortress and crusader town of Acre was undergoing a final siege by Haganah. The crowds dispersed, with air-raid protection tents already rising in the streets and air attacks expected that very first night of the Jewish state. Instead, in the early hours of a lovely moonlit Mediterranean night came the news which left several Jewish leaders incredulous and started crowds dancing the Hora in cafés. President Truman had recognized the Jewish state.

DRAWING COURTESY THE ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

DAVID BEN-GURION

This move, so unexpected after the hostile State Department attitude, seemed a good omen for the future and a reward to the Jewish masses for their courage in insisting on proceeding with the establishment of a Jewish state in spite of dark hints of reprisals. One feels this sense of the ordinary Jew's courage. I had been in Palestine three times before during the last two and a half years and have



DRAWINGS BY HARRY DIX

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great faith in its people, but I was still amazed at how quietly and resolutely they were taking it.

I arrived a week before the establishment of the new state during a period of lull. For months snipers at Jaffa, in Arab-Jewish Haifa and on the roads between Tel Aviv and Haifa to Emek and Galilee, had been making life and travel hazardous for Jews. Energetic Haganah action had done what more plentiful, better-armed British troops had failed to do. I walked the deserted streets of Arab Jaffa and rode the normal taxi service up the Sharon coastal plain to Haifa. There I saw the wrecked headquarters of the Arab Nejada army, evidence of the prowess of the Jews and the weakness of the Arabs.

I talked with British soldiers, police and CID (Criminal Investigation Division) detectives who reflected a new respect for Jewish fighting power. Haganah Jews here have been striving desperately to buy, smuggle and make enough arms to defend themselves against the British-armed Arab states and the British-officered Arab Legion.

Last Saturday, the first day of the Jewish state, I saw the first of the daily air raids by the Egyptian Air Force and glimpsed the morale whence Jewish fighting power stems.

I stood outside cafés with the Sabbath crowds, watching the first Spitfires swoop and dive. I saw blood and guts scattered outside a busy bus station. It had been bombed and strafed during the homecoming hour, and more than forty people were killed. I walked in eerie, moonlit streets where military and hospital cars moved with blue headlights. I talked with men and women huddled in dark hallways and air-raid shelters. I visited the bombed and machine-gunned hospital barracks where the red Mogen David was plainly marked on the roof.

I talked to many angry people, but I have yet to see panic in Tel Aviv. In this city, which is deprived of adequate defenses and planes by the embargo and blockade, and is almost helplessly open to air attack, life goes on with vitality, color and zest. Sunday morning I saw the first batch of girls going out to serve with the Jewish Wacs. Every morning there seem to be fewer young men in the streets and shops. One would never guess from the conversations one overhears that the Egyptian army is only 40 miles south of Gaza, while contingents of the Arab Legion are less than half that far to the east.

It is among the foreign correspondents and foreign military experts that one finds recurrent anxiety. They know that spirit is not enough against bombing planes; that the Yishuv badly lacks heavy arms and planes of its own. But the people one encounters in the streets and cafés just naturally and quietly expect the Jewish state to win. In the meantime, they are prepared to take it on the chin.

Government services and functions are running extraordinarily smoothly. The growing pains are all on the military side. The Haganah, which began as a democratic people's militia, is being reorganized into a disciplined army capable of major offensive blows. However, the government and people of Israel prefer peace to glamorous military victories. Except for western Galilee, which would give the Jews a common border with Christian Lebanon, territorial gains are not considered to be worth the life of one Haganah boy. If there are peaceful relationships with the Arab states, there will be plenty of room for two million more Jews in Israel. This seems to be the view of the overwhelming majority of the Yishuv.

The British at first tried to create a vacuum here. This policy gave the provisional government an opportunity to act weeks before the new state was proclaimed. British guesses were wrong on the strength of the local Arabs, irregulars and Mufti men, and Jews took over whole Arab towns and sections in a few hours of battle. Now the British are staking their hopes on the Britsh-led Arab Legion and the British-made Spitfires of the Egyptian Air Force. But the Egyptian repulse at Nirim may be a taste of what is coming. Unless the new state is denied a fair chance to get arms and planes abroad, I think it will be seen that the British guessed wrong again—and guessing wrong this time means the collapse of the Arab League.

As I see the situation, it makes no sense to recognize the Jewish state without lifting the arms embargo. Fear of an armed Jewish state seems the best way to make the Arab nations accept peace. And peace is what the Jews want and peace is what the world needs. But if it is to be war, the Yishuv intends to make its enemies pay long and dearly.

Typical of the spirit of this Jewish community and the way it has adjusted to wartime life is the anecdote about a mother who, after a night's thunderstorm, asks her child whether he was afraid. "No, Mama," he replies. "I thought it was gunfire."

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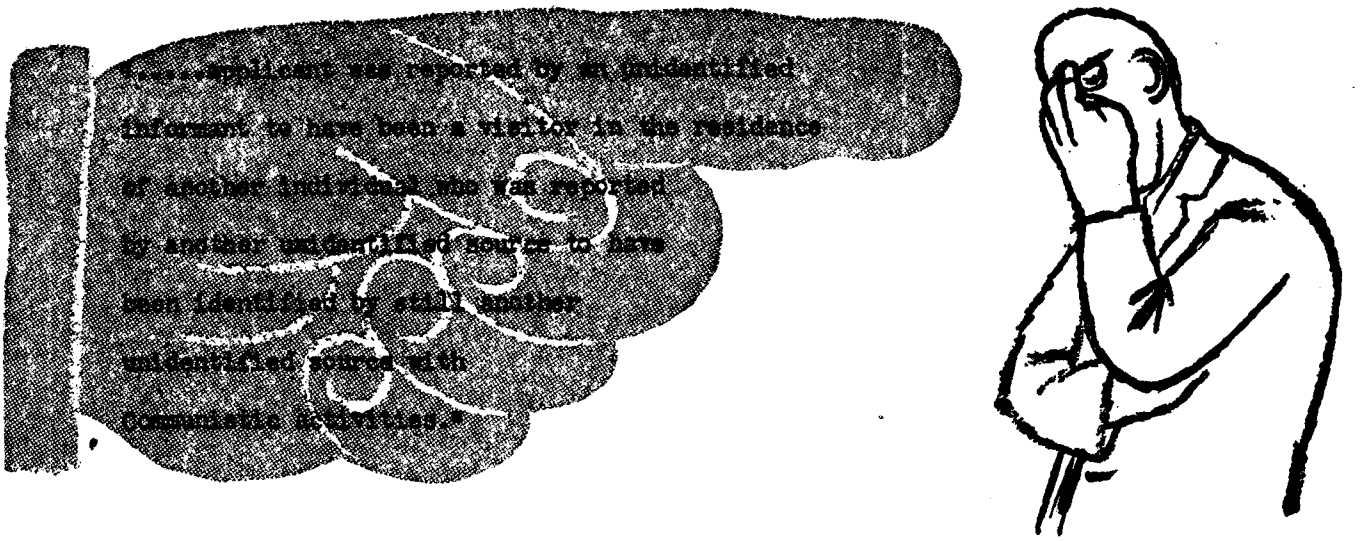
...applicant was reported by an unidentified
informant to have been a visitor in the residence
of another individual who was reported
by another unidentified source to have
been identified by still another
unidentified source with
Communistic activities.

GUILT BY GOSSIP

by Daniel S. Gillmor

THE FIRST TEN AMENDMENTS to the Constitution of the United States are engrossed on a piece of vellum measuring 29¼ by about 27 inches. This most widely known "original" of the Bill of Rights has been displayed since 1943 in the gloomy, marble-pillared lobby of the Library of Congress in Washington. Mounted under glass in a black and gold case, it rested on a marble altar and was protected night and day by members of the Library guard force.

Just now, the document is not to be seen. It is undergoing special preservative treatment and a new display case is being built. The case is to have a metal lining, and there has been some talk of filling it with an inert gas so that the Bill would not be exposed to the deteriorating effects of air and humidity. Present plans are to put the document between pieces of a transparent plastic inside the case so that not even an inert gas or any other element the case might contain could erode the words.

The Library copy would appear to be safe. Whether the concepts it sets forth are equally secure in May, 1948, is more debatable.

Under the Bill, it has been part of the fundamental law of the land since 1791 that "Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press," and that "no person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law," and that in criminal prosecutions "the accused shall enjoy the right to speedy and public trial . . . by an impartial jury . . . and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor."

Yet, in the United States during the past year, 158 men and women faced the loss of their liberty because of their political beliefs. Other hundreds—reflecting almost every shade of liberal opinion—have been subjected to an attack on their rights to speak, write and travel freely.

Some of the victims are famous men like the Reverend John Haynes Holmes, pastor of the Community Church of New York City, who was refused permission to visit Japan because he made some "unfortunate speeches." They include the French scientist, Irene Joliot-Curie, jailed overnight at Ellis Island, and Representative Leo Isacson (ALP, N. Y.), who was denied a passport to France. Even a former Vice President, Henry Wallace, has felt the pressure. Indianapolis hotels refused to rent him a room.

But the "little people," those without a public reputation, are bearing the real brunt of the attack. A Negro veteran who built in a restricted Los Angeles area had his house burned down; American Legionnaires broke up a political meeting in a private home in Santa Monica. From all over the US, letters have poured into the New York office of the Freedom League describing in detail how laborers, farmers, teachers, office workers have become casualties of the cold war.

Over the USA, there appears to hang a clammy, undefined fog, full of shadowy fears and unknown dangers. Through this fog sneak the bogeymen, the ghosts, which would plant an atom bomb in the local waterworks. Who the spooks are is clear to Senator Homer Capehart (R, Ind.). "The evidence unfolds daily," he stated, "that in our government household, Communists and their New Deal fellow travelers are being harbored in key positions where they can sabotage our nation's policies." Representative Clare Hoffman (R, Mich.) warned

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Daniel S. Gillmor, a former Army Air Corps officer, is an associate editor of Survey Graphic.

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that we must guard ourselves against "left-wingers, parlor-pinks, New Dealers—who advocate the remaking of America."

The Un-American Activities Committee report to Congress of June, 1946, labeled as "subversive" people critical of the State Department, favorable to Russia, critical of Franco, Peron, MacArthur and Chiang Kai-shek, or who openly "call for the dissolution of the British Empire." "Some of these loud-mouthed trouble makers can hardly speak English," the report added, taking a firm stand behind the American language.

Representative Mundt (R, S. D.) wants to quell such trouble-making. "Our task," he told Congress, ". . . is to seek out and expose those activities which, although legal, are none the less un-American." Mundt is an active, energetic member of the Un-American Activities Committee, the body which had rendered an adverse report on the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. In bolstering its report, it discussed a Southern Conference-sponsored meeting at which Henry Wallace spoke, and disclosed the damning fact that at the meeting the entertainer was "Susan Reed, employed by Café Society, a night club owned by Barney Josephson, brother of Leon Josephson, leading Communist, Soviet Secret Service operative, charged with passport frauds."

Disloyalty, fear and insecurity had been present before the Bill of Rights was born. Not only had General Benedict Arnold betrayed Washington, but a large part of the population of the colonies had taken active or passive sides with King George. England was entrenched in Canada on the north, and Spain in Florida on the south. The King of France had vague ambitions in the west, and the Indians were everywhere. Yet, in that time of crisis, public opinion had forced constitutional amendments to guarantee freedom for the individual American.

In 1940, after France had fallen, the armies of Nazi Germany were directly across the Channel from the English coast. Germany had signed a pact with the Soviet Union. In the United States, uncertainty was widespread. Communists and radicals were suspect in the eyes of the federal government, yet President Roosevelt, referring to them, declared: "It is perfectly absurd to say that there are some 300,000 dangerous people in this country."

Asked about the potential danger of a defense worker who was "merely a member of the Communist Party," the President answered, "It would depend upon the individual case"—the person under suspicion "might be a perfectly innocent little fellow that you would never suspect of hurting a fly." FDR summed it up by saying, "You can't convict a man for communism. . . . Every case has to be determined on its merits."

The transition from a calm consideration of each person's guilt or innocence of disloyal acts on the evidence, to blanket denunciations, outlawings, firings and other pressures, has come about mainly since the end of the war.

As of May, 1948, the philosophy that a person may be found guilty only for overt acts such as treason, sabotage or spying, and that each case must be tried on its merits, seems to have found its last official refuge in a single place —the nation's courts. The other view —that all liberals are radicals, that all radicals are Communists, that all Communists are bomb throwers and should be deported or jailed—has taken root.

Even a cabinet member, Secretary of Labor Schwellenbach, has asked:

"Why should we recognize the Communist Party in the United States? Why should they be allowed to elect congressmen, theoretically at least? Why should they be eligible to run for office when their purpose is to destroy the government? I just can't see any reason why we should have that."

President Truman has announced a policy of "fighting communism" abroad. At home, "fighting communism" has come to mean fighting everything that is not orthodox and generally accepted. A subtle change in thought has taken place throughout the country. Today, there is the general belief that all radicals, and especially Communists, are "agents of a foreign power" and that each of them "advocates the overthrow of the government of the United States by force."

In his Pulitzer Prize-winning articles, correspondent Bert Andrews of the New York *Herald Tribune* described the case of seven State Department employees fired without hearings, on unknown charges, based on the secret testimony of unnamed witnesses. President Truman's recent "loyalty order" covering federal employees provided for a detailed investigation of all of the 2.3 million civilian employees of the federal government, and provided that one of the standards to be used in considering whether or not such a person was disloyal was "membership, affiliation or sympathetic association with any . . . organization designated by the Attorney General as totalitarian, Fascist, Communist or subversive."

Under the order, the Attorney General was to furnish the other departments of the government a list of organizations which he had found, "after appropriate investigation and determination," to fall into the totalitarian or subversive category. So far, appropriate investigation and determination haven't included the right of such organizations to present testimony, witnesses and material on their own behalf in open hearings.

To protect the government of the United States against disloyal acts there are old and well-established laws against treason, sedition, sabotage, correspondence with a foreign power or the disclosure of secret documents. Yet since the beginning of World War II there is no case on record of the federal government's having convicted a civil servant for treason, sedition, sabotage, or correspondence with a foreign government.

Congress has seen fit to pass special laws covering civil servants. Under the Hatch and various Appropriations Acts, it is against the law for a federal employee to be a member of "any political party or organization which advocates the overthrow of our con-

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stitutional form of government in the United States."

Some 125 civil servants were fired between 1942 and 1947 for "disloyalty," and about 700 were not given government jobs on the same grounds. These civil-service employees and applicants lost, or were denied, jobs on the doctrine of "guilt by association." That they personally believe in violent overthrow of the US Government was never investigated or proved. Nevertheless, they were considered by the Civil Service and other investigators to be "members, affiliates, or in sympathetic association" with organizations that were defined by the government as having such aims.

As to whether the organizations in question have such aims or not, again nobody knows. In the Harry Bridges case of 1945, Mr. Justice Murphy found that no evidence had been introduced to prove that the Communist Party seriously and imminently threatens to uproot the government by force and violence.

Not only is the concept of "guilt by association" repugnant to all the traditions of Anglo-Saxon common law, but the guilt of the organization associated with—the Communist Party of the United States—is still a matter of legal doubt.

The Tempo Changes

IT CANNOT BE the duty, because it is not the right, of the state to protect the public against false doctrine. The very purpose of the First Amendment is to foreclose public authority from assuming a guardianship of the public mind through regulating the press, speech, and religion. In this field every person must be his own watchman for truth, because the forefathers did not trust any government to separate the true from the false for us." So said Supreme Court Justice Jackson in 1945.

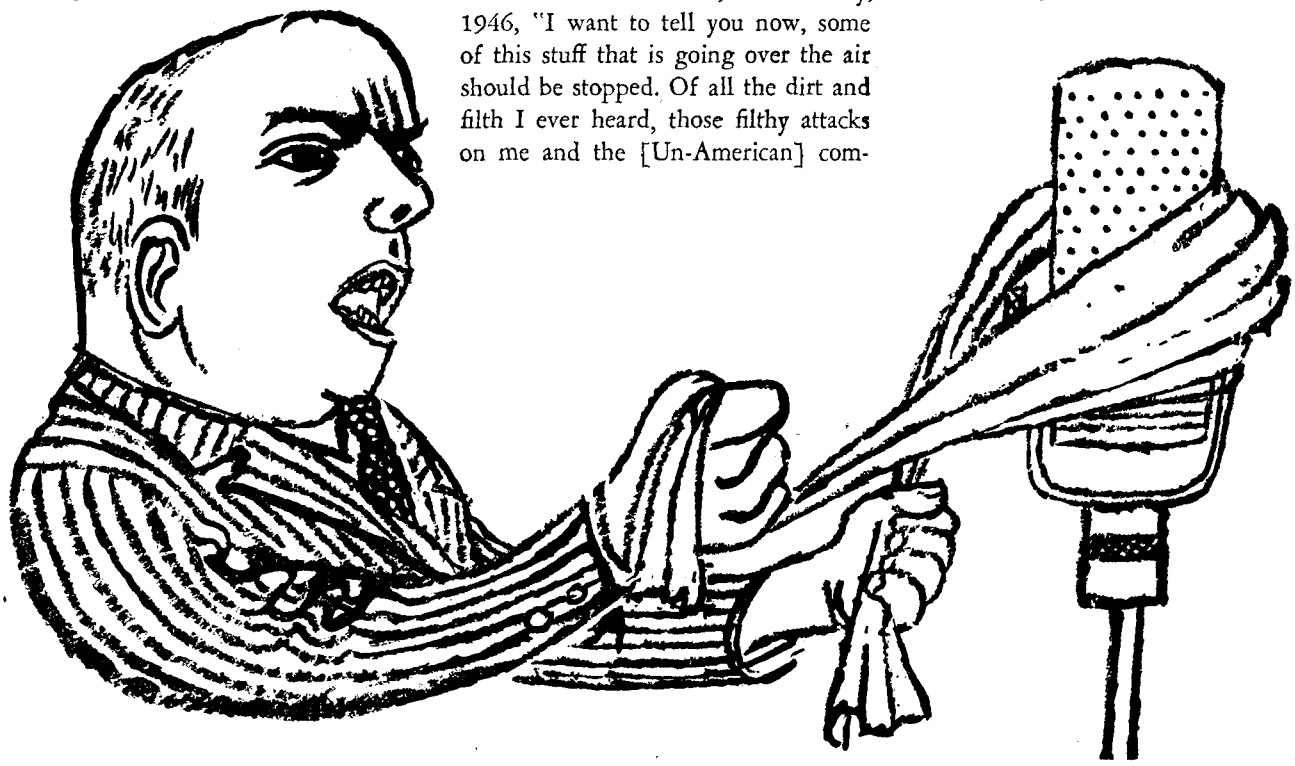
The present Attorney General does not agree. In discussing the arrest of Gerhart Eisler, he said, "... The 140 million Americans are entitled to protection from those who try to force upon them a foreign ideology." Carrying out this policy, Clark told the Un-American Activities Committee, "I ordered Mr. Eisler picked up for deportation because he had been making speeches over the country that were derogatory to our form of government and our way of life. . . ."

John E. Rankin, member of the House of Representatives from Mississippi, advocates the same idea for other reasons. He said, in February, 1946, "I want to tell you now, some of this stuff that is going over the air should be stopped. Of all the dirt and filth I ever heard, those filthy attacks on me and the [Un-American] committee . . . by Walter Winchell are the worst."

Twenty years ago, when he was the Republican mayor of Allendale, New Jersey, J. Parnell Thomas, present chairman of the committee, fell out with the editor of the *Journal,* in the neighboring town of Ramsey. The issue appears to have been that the editor represented the local wing of the Republican Party which opposed Thomas' renomination. Thomas denounced the editor's actions as "the work of a destructionist," and "both un-American and typical of the type of person who might make them." The committee has since made these terms classic.

Thomas has been a member of the Un-American Activities Committee since it was first established under the chairmanship of Martin Dies in 1938. At first a temporary body, it was authorized to investigate "subversive" and "un-American" propaganda activities. Although it has never succeeded in arriving at a firm definition of these elusive terms, the committee has managed to make headlines and break reputations during its stormy career.

As a result of its early activities, the committee by 1944 had become little



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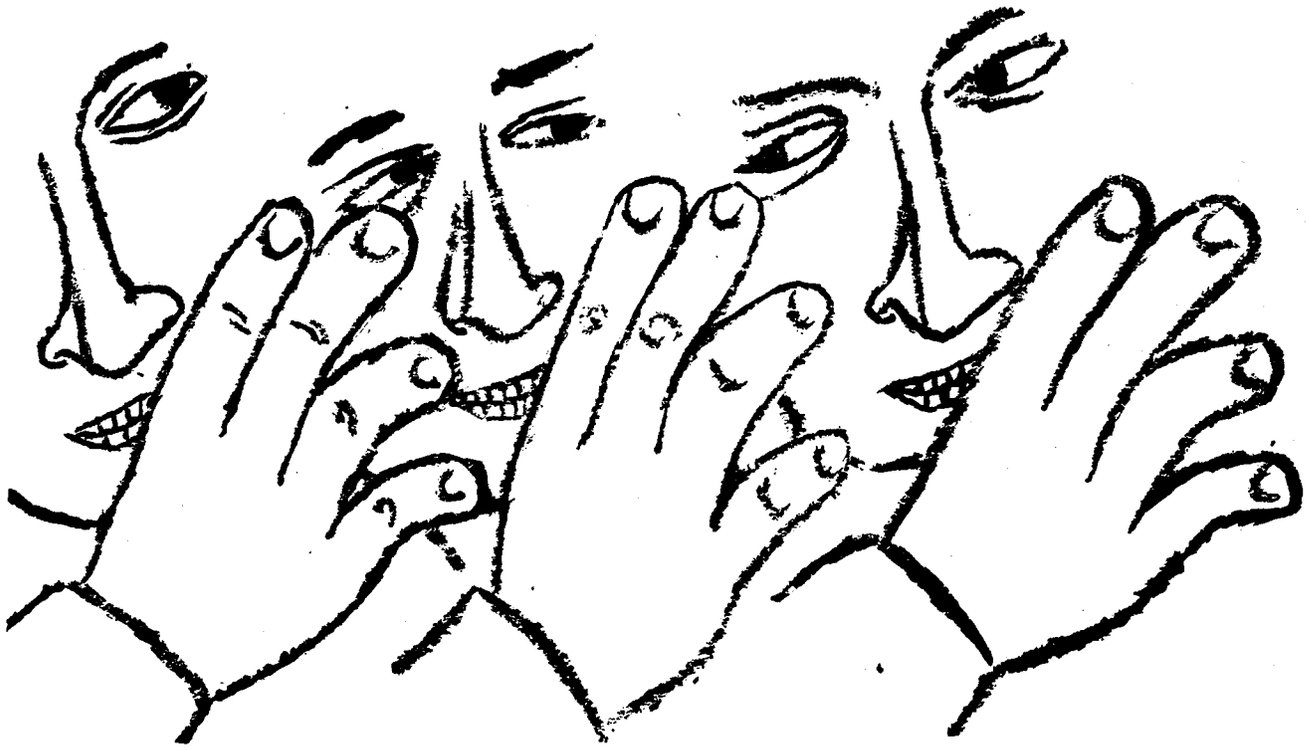

DRAWINGS BY BEN SHAHN

more than an isolated and discredited group. Its members had to labor long and hard to keep it from dying at the end of each congressional session. President Roosevelt attacked its habit of intervening in election campaigns and called its part in the defeat of Frank Murphy for Governor of Michigan "flagrantly unfair and un-American."

Henry Wallace, then Vice President, said that the effect of its actions on the country's morale "would be less damaging if Mr. Dies were on the Hitler payroll." Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes poked fun at the first of the committee's many quests for nationwide publicity through the use of Hollywood names. "They have found dangerous radicals there," Ickes observed, "led by little Shirley Temple."

The present status and power of the Un-American Activities Committee are a different matter. It is now a permanent body and Chairman Thomas has become a figure unique in the annals of American government. He is a quasi-judicial personage empowered to summon every man and woman in America on the carpet to answer for their beliefs. If they fail to appear, or, on appearing, fail to answer questions or produce "pertinent" papers or records, they may be found guilty of contempt of Congress, a misdemeanor which carries a maximum penalty of one year in jail, or a $1,000 fine, or both. And if Thomas can enter a count of "conspiracy" against them, their punishment may reach three years in jail and a $10,000 fine.

The relationship of the committee to other government agencies also has changed. The President's Loyalty Order of March 22, 1947, listed its files as one of the "pertinent sources of information" in determining whether or not a government employee is loyal. The President, the Department of Justice, the Treasury and the armed services work closely with it. J. Edgar Hoover of the FBI last year voluntarily appeared before it and stated that he saw the committee as an ally of his law-enforcement agency in protecting the "internal security" of the United States.

Hoover began his career in the Department of Justice as a file clerk in 1917. When the "Radical Division" of the Department's Bureau of Investigation was created in 1920, he became its chief. As a special assistant to A. Mitchell Palmer, then Attorney General, Hoover played a major role in the "Red Raids" of the twenties during which some 6,000 persons were jailed.

Hoover has attempted to dissociate himself from the Palmer raids, but when Senator Walsh of Montana asked Attorney General Palmer, "How many search warrants were issued?" the Attorney General replied, "I cannot tell you, Senator, personally. If you would like to ask Mr. Hoover, who was in charge of this matter, he can tell you."

Hoover became director of the FBI in 1924, and during the crime wave of the Capone-prohibition era, the "G-Men" grew to national prominence. He is one of the most powerful government officials in the federal service. Hoover has stated that the FBI files contain over 103 million fingerprints. The 1948 FBI budget

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provides for more than 10,000 employees, and the Bureau will cost the taxpayers around $50 million for the fiscal year 1948.

The Bureau's "subversive" files, described by A. Mitchell Palmer at their inception in 1919 as ". . . a card-index system, numbering over 200,000 cards, giving detailed data not only upon individual agitators connected with the ultra-radical movement, but also upon organizations, associations, societies, publications and special conditions existing in certain localities," have grown to enormous, unknown proportions. Cards have given way to complete dossiers, also treated as highly confidential material to be kept from the eyes of even the highest federal officials.

Hoover's superior, the Attorney General, is Tom C. Clark, a Texan who was nominated to the post by President Truman in 1945. In contrast to his predecessors, Clark has actively coöperated with the Un-American Activities Committee. He has told committee members, "We have the same purposes in view." His thoughts about who is and who is not dangerous and "subversive" seem to be cast in the same mold as that of Thomas and the other extremists. "Edgar [Hoover] and I agree," he told Representative Mundt at a committee hearing, "on what I have said . . . that there is more potential danger in the so-called fellow traveler than there is in the numerical strength of the party itself."

The Attorney General, the FBI chief and the chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee symbolize the official forces operating against the allegedly subversive, disloyal and un-American influences supposedly at work undermining the United States today. They are attempting to enforce what Professor Henry Steele Commager calls "the new loyalty."

The Strategists

CLARK, HOOVER and Thomas have most of the power and tricks on their side. They pick the battlefield, monopolize the weapons, set the timing of the engagement and call the moves. Behind them is the combined power of the legislative, executive and, to some extent, the judicial branches of the United States Government. John Jones, an American of vaguely radical leanings, thus faces a crushing offensive able effectively to neutralize him as a political factor.

Attorney General Clark, as head of the Department of Justice, represents the executive branch of the government in the coalition. It is he who briefs the other parties on the legal phases of the cold war against nonconformity.

His executive officer is J. Edgar Hoover, head of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Thoroughly schooled in effective methods of "counter-subversive" action, Hoover keeps the dossiers on individuals suspected of har-

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The better you live, the more oil you need...

A report on the most useful year

IN this country and through the world, human progress calls for more and more oil. To do their part in meeting the great need for oil in 1947, Standard Oil Company (New Jersey) and its affiliates performed the biggest job in their history. They produced more oil and delivered more products; took in and paid out more money; employed more workers and served more people than ever before. And far more than ever was spent for facilities to meet growing needs—426 million dollars in a single year, paid for out of past and current earnings of the business. It was a year of great accomplishment; great progress. Here are some highlights from this significant year, based on the Company's Annual Report to its 171,000 stockholders...

1 **World-wide, the need for oil surpassed all records.** To help meet the need, crude oil production by Jersey Company affiliates was increased 8% over 1946, setting another new record. Their production was 14% of the world's total for the year.

2 **In the U.S., too, the need was at record levels.** Three million more cars to fuel than pre-war; twice as many tractors and trucks on farms; a million and a half more oil-heated homes; five times as many diesel locomotives. Total U.S. consumption of oil products was 11% greater than 1946, 12% greater even than the peak war year. In meeting this need, we set new output records month after month, accounting for 9% of U.S. total crude oil.

3 **The unusually hard winter** made heating oil and kerosene supply a special problem. By extraordinary effort in refineries and hard work and long hours by people all along the line, we were able to deliver about 25% more of these products than in the winter before.

4 **With such big demand, big supply, and rising prices,** money came in—and was paid out—in all-time record figures. Total dollar income reached $2,387,000,000—45% over 1946. Operating charges and other deductions from income reached $2,118,040,000—44% over 1946. A record sum of $466,954,000 was paid to our employees.

STANDARD OIL COMPANY
AND AFFILIATED

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biggest, hardest, we ever had!...

5 **Net consolidated earnings** of the Company and affiliates — $269,000,000 — equalled $9.83 per share, or 11.3% of total income as compared to 10.8% in 1946. Dividends of $4.00 per share were paid by the parent Company.

6 **Most important dollar figure of the year** was the 426 million dollars spent for new wells, plants, tankers, pipelines and all the other things it takes to get the oil you need. Part of a billion dollar program covering the two years 1947-48, it was by far the greatest capital investment we have ever faced. The money came almost entirely from earnings, past and current — money made on the job went back into the job.

7 **Transportation of oil was a big job.** During the year, we bought 23 ocean-going tankers from the U. S. Maritime Commission, and early this year we ordered 6 new 26,000-ton, 16-knot ships, the largest we ever operated. Pipelines were pushed to new records — our trunk lines delivering 83 billion barrel-miles, or 11 billion more than in 1946.

8 **In discovering new oil,** we spent 5 times as much as pre-war — 16% more than last year. (Altogether, the country's known oil reserves were increased by 600 million barrels during the year, in spite of record consumption.)

9 **Cost of research also increased** — $18,200,000 was spent for new knowledge. Considerable progress was made in finding more efficient and lower-cost processes for making gasoline and other liquid fuels synthetically from natural gas, oil shale, and coal.

10 **Labor-management relations** remained excellent, continuing our exceptional record of industrial harmony. Employee compensation was adjusted upward during the year to help meet rising living costs. A total of $55,396,000 was saved in employee Thrift Plans, of which $20,987,000 was saved by employees and $34,409,000 contributed by the Company and its affiliates.

THE 1947 JOB WAS A BIG ONE. The jobs ahead are bigger still. In a democracy the responsibility for making a better world rests with the individual and the individual enterprise. It is clear that an enterprise like Standard Oil Company (New Jersey) must exercise a full realization of the social responsibilities of profit—must understand that the peace, advancement, and the security of the people of the world are the best guarantee of the Company's own progress and security. We intend now, as always, to demonstrate in action that the free, competitive American enterprise system is far superior to any other. We believe that the Company and its affiliates are so organized, and their business so conducted, that they will continue to serve people well.

(NEW JERSEY)
COMPANIES

Copies of the full report are available on request. Address Room 1626, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, N. Y. The earnings statement in this report satisfies the provisions of Section 11 (A) of the Securities Act of 1933.

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boring unhealthy ideas; these dossiers are the mines from which both Clark and Thomas extract information concerning their victims. Hoover probably has your fingerprints among the 103 million sets on file with the Bureau.

Thomas, as head of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, does publicly what Hoover does in private. While Hoover gathers intelligence material for the "confidential" use of government department heads, Thomas puts the whole business on a layman's level. He talks to the newspapers, and through their enthusiastic reportage can manufacture an uproar against the intended victim.

The three men operate on the principle of reciprocal aid. Clark provides Thomas with advice on how to frame repressive legislation. Asked to make suggestions, Clark told the committee, "We would be happy to do that, sir. I will put some boys on it that have had a vast amount of experience in prosecution of this type to assist you."

From Clark, Thomas also gets cooperation in making arrests—Gerhart Eisler, for instance, was twice taken into custody by Clark on the committee's request. Clark in turn relies on Thomas to bring in contempt-of-Congress citations against undesirables on which Clark can prosecute. This attitude of friendly coöperation was expressed by the Attorney General at a recent hearing:

"We may say, I think, that you in Congress and we in our Department of Justice are laboring in neighboring vineyards and that we have the same purpose in view. The program of this committee in bringing into the spotlight of publicity the activities of individuals and groups can render real service to the American people."

The Tactics of Suppression

WHAT HAPPENS to victim John Jones in a hypothetical "anti-subversive" operation? Chairman Thomas hales him into a committee "hearing." Giving the victim little chance to keep his balance, Thomas leads off by making sensational "disclosures" to the newspapermen (*e.g.*, "He signed a petition to lift the arms embargo against the Spanish Republic"). Jones is then asked carefully prepared questions, many of them of the "yes or no" variety. Jones discovers immediately that he is not up for a hearing, but that he is being grilled by a hostile committee whose purpose is to "convict" him in the eyes of the public.

In these hearings, Thomas monopolizes the conversation. He is a master at loading a phrase, at ripping a quotation out of context and at implying guilt without leveling an outright accusation. All the rhetorical tricks are played for what they are worth—the sneer, the aside, the tolerant smile and the indignant flush of righteous wrath. When Jones speaks, he does so by sufferance, and only along the course delineated for him by the committee. Should he attempt to qualify his answers, he may be threatened with arrest. (When Professor Lyman Bradley, of New York University, attempted to read a prepared statement, a committee member shouted: ". . . the next question he refuses to answer, just call up the Marshal and send him to jail.")

The committee gives Jones the nominal right to consult his lawyer. Actually, however, he is discouraged, and often prevented, from discussing matters with his counsel. At times—as in the case of "The Hollywood Ten"—the defendant's attorney may be thrown out of the committee chambers or he may have important papers snatched from his hand, as happened to Dr. Harlow Shapley of Harvard.

Thomas' hearings outwardly resemble a court trial, but there the resemblance ends. The Representatives involved in the questioning have the right to run matters as they see fit. They summon only those witnesses who will testify against Jones. These witnesses can and do slander Jones without fear of being held to account, for they are speaking at a congressional committee hearing and thus are granted immunity from defamation suits.

By the time the victim has been "heard," his outer defenses are pretty well reduced. The newspapers will print the testimony given at the hearing, and later Thomas will bolster his offensive with further statements to the press.

If he is lucky, Jones will wind up tagged with nothing worse than being an atom-bomb spy, a criminal syndicalist, a crackpot, or a Comintern agent—any one of which is usually enough to cost him his job and his standing in the community. But if he chooses to fight back during the hearing, as did Dr. Edward K. Barsky of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, he may be cited for contempt. If the House approves the citation—and chances are it will—Jones is tossed over to the Attorney General for prosecution, and in due course receives a jail sentence.

The committee does not confine its investigations to little men like John Jones, however. For censorship purposes it puts the practices and ethics of entire professions on trial. This is what has happened to film, radio and the press. In most cases, the warnings are taken up with alacrity. The motion-picture producers, for instance, obliged Thomas by firing the ten Hollywood writers who had been charged with un-American activities. Another example of how Hollywood knuckled under to the committee is the following exchange between Louis B. Mayer, of M-G-M, and a committee investigator:

QUESTION: "Are you making any anti-Communist pictures at Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer at the present time?"

MAYER: "I think we are going to start shooting promptly."

The same "word to the wise" routine was applied to radio. In October, 1945, the committee's counsel requested and received from broadcasting companies some 75 scripts. They were the broadcasts of liberal radio commentators, including Raymond Swing, Johannes Steel, Frank King-

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don, William Gailmor and J. Raymond Walsh. Steel was dismissed almost immediately, but the resulting criticism led the committee to deny to the New York *Times* that any inquiry was being made. The day after the denial, however, broadcasters received a letter from the committee's counsel, who warned: "I hope that stations will make it unnecessary for the committee to recommend the passage of remedial laws. . . ."

What followed was the purging of practically every liberal commentator on the air.

The press has not escaped. The committee once subpenaed an advertising agency and representatives of the advertising department of the New York *Times* on a question of "criticism of individual members" of Congress. The agency had placed in the *Times* an advertisement for "Citizens United to Abolish the Wood-Rankin Committee." The incident elicited a sharp rejoinder from the press. *Editor and Publisher,* the magazine of the newspaper industry, called the action "an attempt at thought control," and asked Congress to investigate the committee's motives. So vigorous was the general reaction that the committee has avoided further press clashes.

As a member of President Truman's cabinet, Clark is carrying out the domestic counterpart of the anti-radical, anti-Communist crusade which the President proclaimed to the world in his Truman Doctrine of March 12, 1947. The Loyalty Order was signed by the President only 10 days later, to cover the situation at home.

Truman, Clark and Thomas have invested the domestic cold war with an aura of legality. Unlike the Palmer Raids of 1919-20, the present campaign against radicals has steered clear of illegal mass arrests and random imprisonments. So far, Clark and Hoover have adhered closely to legality. The real accusation against the victim—his political beliefs—is rarely given as the reason for prosecution. The man is charged with technical violations of federal laws—just as effective a method of jailing or deporting him.

Clark's main device is discriminatory enforcement of the law. He singles out for attack a man who has become undesirable because of his unorthodox political beliefs. Clark then works up all the possible technical charges, charges that usually do not represent the real reason for the government's action. It is a question of whom the government *wants* to imprison, rather than of whom it *can* imprison. A good example of such selective application of the law is the Attorney General's conviction of Carl A. Marzani, a young government economist.

Marzani, whose work as a federal employee was commended by General Joseph T. McNarney, was prosecuted under a section of the Criminal Code which makes it an offense to file a false statement with a government agency.

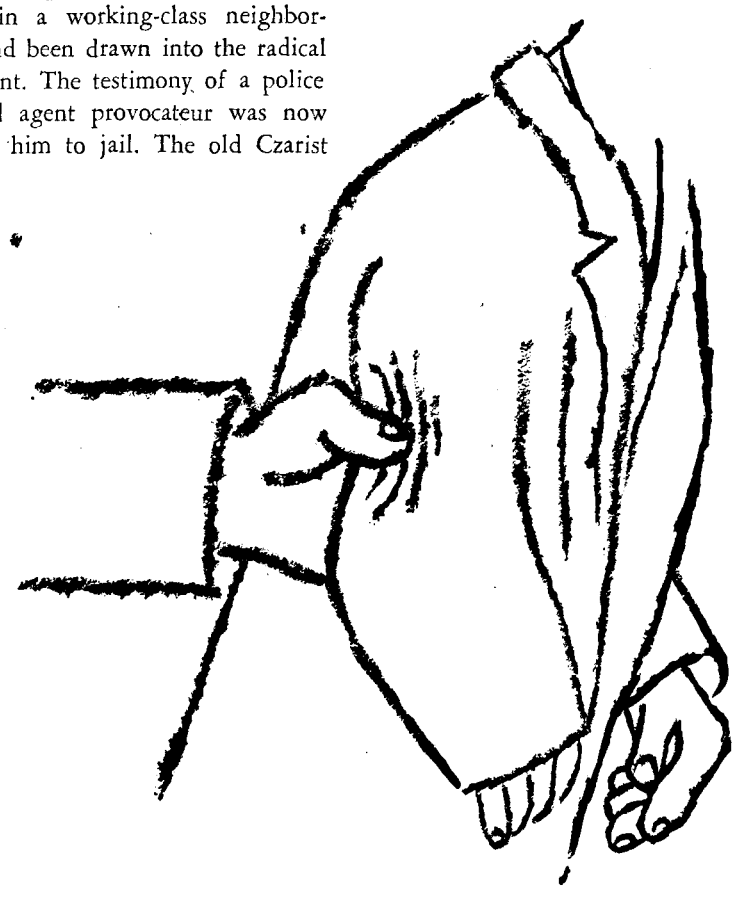
"There were moments," I. F. Stone wrote of the trial, "when one imagined oneself back in pre-revolutionary Russia. In the prisoner's dock was a young man of poor family. He had made a brilliant scholastic career, won a scholarship abroad, settled on his return in a working-class neighborhood and been drawn into the radical movement. The testimony of a police spy and agent provocateur was now sending him to jail. The old Czarist files must contain many such cases. The files of the American government will contain many more if Marzani's conviction is upheld on appeal."

Marzani was sentenced to three years in jail.

In the Thomas-Clark-Hoover campaign, the most likely candidates for pulverization are suspected or known Communists of foreign birth. These are the easiest targets for several reasons:

¶ Many Americans mistakenly believe that a non-citizen is ineligible for the constitutional guarantees of freedom which are enjoyed by US citizens. ("An alien, as well as a citizen, is protected by the universal principle that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process and his hearing must be in accord with 'the fundamental principles which must inhere in due process of law' "—Justices Sanborn, Adams and Smith, in *Whitfield v. Hanges,* 222 Fed. Rep. 745-756, 1915.)

¶ The failure of aliens to adopt citizenship arouses resentment in Amer-



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icans who assume that failure to do so is an indication of contempt for the US.

¶ For decades the newspapers have fostered the impression that most bomb-throwers and assassins are aliens.

¶ An alien can be conveniently removed under the deportation statutes. Clark makes no secret of his intentions. "We are using the deportation statutes to remove from among us those aliens who believe in a foreign ideology," he told the committee.

These are some of the important factors which have resulted in deportation proceedings against left-wingers like Ferdinand Smith, secretary of the National Maritime Union; Irving Potash, manager of the Furriers' Joint Council of New York (CIO); and Charles A. Doyle, regional director of the United Gas, Coke and Chemical Workers of America (CIO).

Clark imprisoned these men without bail on Ellis Island to await deportation because, according to him, they were Communist Party members. Senator Capehart (R, Ind.) remarked that the arrest of Smith was "apparently a signal to labor leaders to mend their ways if they wish to remain in this country."

Clark uses these isolated cases as examples, to warn others in alien status to watch themselves and keep their noses clean of anything savoring of left-wing politics. Clark's penchant for arresting labor leaders is reminiscent of Attorney General Palmer's tactics in 1919-20—there seems to have been a definite conviction on the part of both men that organized labor is a sector to be watched with particular suspicion. Early in March, J. Edgar Hoover underlined the Justice Department's attitude on this point by sending two-man teams of FBI agents to headquarters of New York City locals which had announced their support of Wallace's presidential candidacy. "Just checking up," the investigators stated.

At least 48 persons already have been arrested for deportation—less than half the number that Clark says he plans to "remove." Last June a spokesman for Clark told a reporter for the New York *Journal-American* that warrants for the arrest of at least 124 persons had been issued. Most of the arrests resemble the Smith, Potash and Doyle cases—the government claims that the defendants have been members of an organization, namely the Communist Party, which "advocates the overthrow of the government by force and violence."

Some have been arrested on other pretexts. Take the case of Joe Weber, former director of organization for the United Farm and Equipment and Metal Workers of America. He came to the United States in 1913, when he was nine years old. He is married to an American citizen. Last year he was suddenly arrested in Chicago. The charges: Clark's Immigration and Naturalization Service claims that Weber illegally visited a border town in Mexico for four hours in 1939.

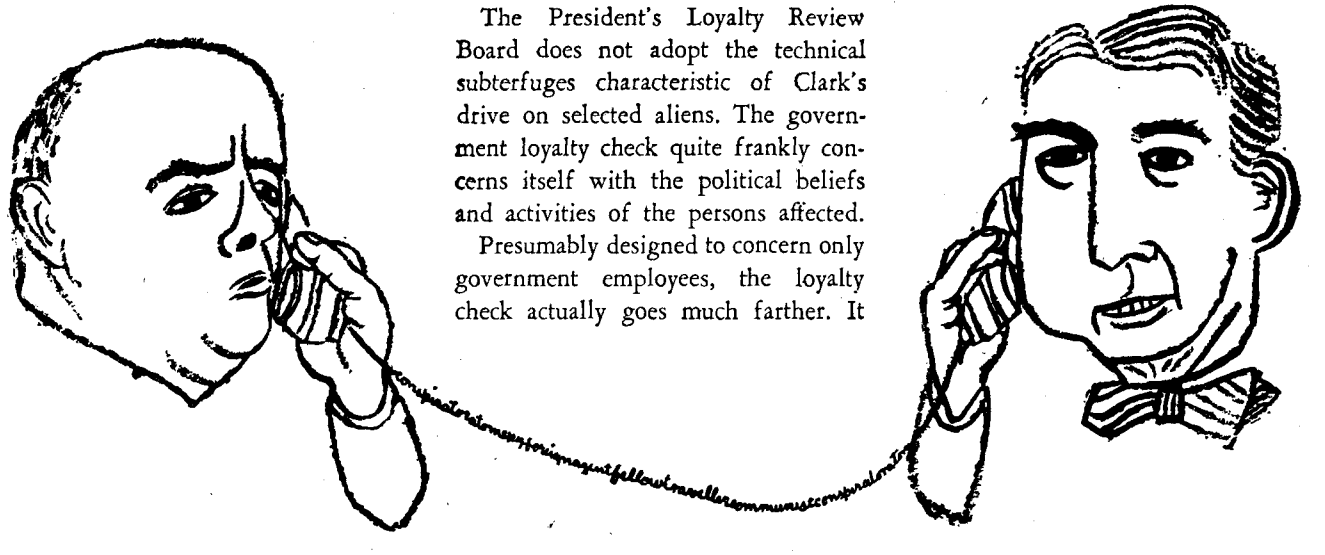
The President's Loyalty Review Board does not adopt the technical subterfuges characteristic of Clark's drive on selected aliens. The government loyalty check quite frankly concerns itself with the political beliefs and activities of the persons affected.

Presumably designed to concern only government employees, the loyalty check actually goes much farther. It succeeds, at least partially, in the attainment of three objectives: (1) it enforces political conformity among government employees; (2) it is a device to label "subversive" organizations; and (3) in penalizing these people, it gives private industry a heavy hint to follow suit.

Chairman Thomas keeps a close watch on the loyalty check and occasionally brings outstanding victims of the loyalty probe before his committee for second—and this time public—trials. Under the Loyalty Order details of cases considered are kept secret on the grounds that the security of the state is involved. Secrecy has at least one important drawback: much of the "example" value of such trials is in danger of being lost on the public.

At this point the Thomas committee applies its "exposure" technique. In some unexplained manner, its investigators gain access to supposedly confidential FBI reports. From this material, plus its own million-name file, the committee can construct a sound, well-publicized case. Thus the executive branch of the government can serve, on special occasions, as a sort of parent holding company to the Thomas committee, passing down information which the Loyalty Board itself is bound to keep secret.

A case in point is that of Dr. Edward U. Condon, atomic physicist and head of the Bureau of Standards. Condon was cleared by his departmental loyalty board. The committee managed



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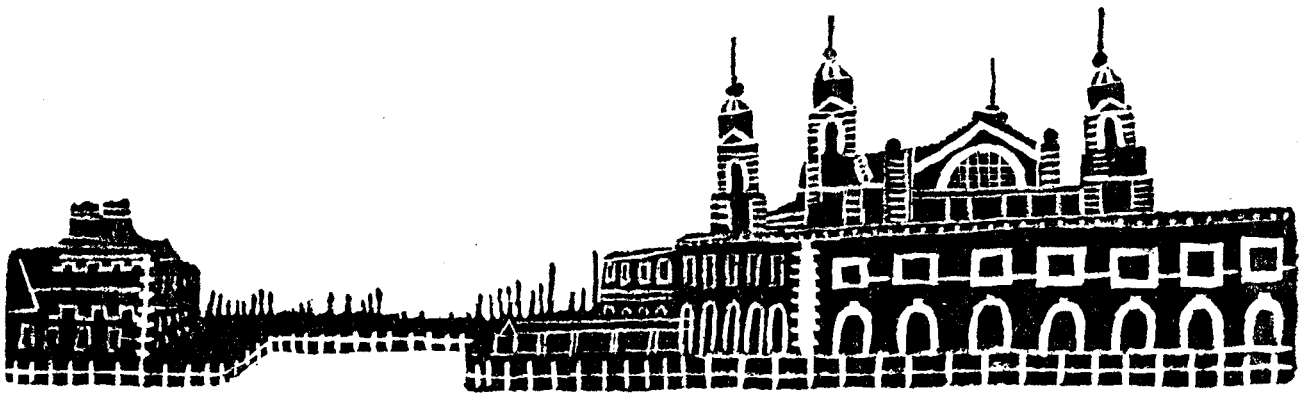

to get hold of and release to the press a partial version of an FBI report on the scientist, and Thomas branded Condon as "one of the weakest links in our atomic security."

The Justice Department has to be more careful than either Thomas or the Loyalty Boards. If it makes a direct accusation, a court trial must be held, with an impartial jury, free access to counsel, the right of a defendant to face his accusers—none of which applies to committee hearings and loyalty checks. Clark's lieutenant, Hoover, employs more indirect methods, best illustrated by the "Durr incident" last winter.

Hoover had made a practice of handing out unsolicited informational "memos" on persons applying for radio broadcast licenses. By tortuous bits of hearsay, the memos implied that the persons mentioned might be guilty of subversive behavior.

When Hoover's memos reached the desk of Clifford Durr, FCC Commissioner, he forthrightly attacked them: "If you should be told the kind of things contained in many of these reports, you would dismiss the information as baseless gossip." Durr cited as one example of Hoover's damning evidence this choice bit: "An applicant was, in 1944, at the height of the war, reported by an unidentified source as being in contact with another unidentified individual 'who was suspected of possible pro-Russian activity'." Yet so great is Hoover's prestige that when Durr denounced this whispering campaign, his FCC colleagues repudiated him.

Much of the significance of what Thomas, Clark and Hoover are doing lies below the surface, away from the spotlight in Washington. Their tactics on the national scene are being adopted and, in many cases, improved upon, by state attorney generals, police chiefs and legislatures throughout the nation. In California, for example, an Un American Activities Committee headed by State Senator Jack Tenney is going to town on the radicals in much the same manner as its Washington prototype. A similar committee has set itself up in Michigan, where three state senators are now threatening a 19-year old Michigan State College student with prison if he refuses to answer yes or no to the question: "Are you, or have you ever been, a member of the Communist Party?"

The Michigan legislature has quickened the tempo of its local cold war with passage of the Callahan Act, which labels as subversive any "group, club, league, society, committee, association, political party, or combination of individuals, serving directly or indirectly the purposes, aims or objects of a foreign power." Implicit in the act is the presupposition that advocacy of any governmental or public policy which might be beneficial to another country—say Russia—would not serve the purposes of the United States and would therefore be considered subversive.

In Michigan, as in Washington, the citizen is left in the dark concerning the meaning of "subversive." Nowhere in the Act is there a concrete definition of the term on which it hinges. Consequently, if he values his liberty, the best thing for him to do is to abjure any beliefs of an unpopular nature. This is probably all the sponsors of the Callahan Act wanted in the first place. The legislation seems intended as a psychological, rather than a legal, weapon. Michigan's attorney general has already declared that he will make no attempt to enforce it.

The War Widens

THE CULMINATION of the Thomas-Clark-Hoover campaign now lies before Congress in the form of a bill entitled: The Subversive Activities Control Act, H. R. 5852.

This sweeping piece of legislation has been framed by Thomas committee members Karl E. Mundt (R, S. D.) and Richard Nixon (R, Calif.); it is the first bill that the committee has reported to Congress. The bill would, in effect, outlaw the Communist Party, but in an indirect manner so as to avoid being declared unconstitutional.

The bill employs the weapons made popular by Thomas: exposure and publicity. Section 8 requires that "each Communist political organization" and "each Communist-front organization . . . shall . . . register with the Attorney General." In registering, it shall file a statement containing its name; the names and addresses of all present officers and all officers of the previous years; an accounting of all moneys received and expended; all contributors; and, in the case of a "Communist political organization," the names and addresses of all members during the previous year. Moreover, each organization must keep ready "accurate records of the names and addresses of

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February 11, 1948.

Hon. J. Parnell Thomas
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:

Are you, or have you ever been, a member of the Communist Party?

I ask this question because of the following:

The Communist Party uses underhand and insidious methods. One way of determining whether or not a man is a member of the Party is as to whether or not he has rendered service to that party. The Party is made up of emotional people who like to feel that they are important; you have given that party millions of dollars worth of publicity and have thus been of real service to the Party. Also, I am told that your name has been widely publicized in the Soviet press. Further, you belong to an organization of which at least one member is reputed to be a Communist, and contrary to the advice you have given to some of the Hollywood people, you prefer to remain in this group rather than to resign. I refer of course to the House of Representatives.

Besides this, a great deal of social legislation passed by the House of Representatives, of which you are a member, is approved by Communists, to wit: the TVA, Old Age and Unemployment Insurance, Social Security legislation, and other measures of like kind.

If charged with being a Communist, you would no doubt deny it. This is a well-known Communist tactic. How do I know your name is Thomas, or whether you have another name? It is said that your father's name was Feeney. Changing one's name is the mark of a Communist.

You may say that your politics are none of my concern. I believe that when a like answer was made to you by some of your witnesses, you insisted that refusal to answer was characteristic of Communists.

I should appreciate hearing from you, so that if inquiry is made I can, on good authority, state that you deny that you are a Communist.

Yours truly,

Arthur Garfield Hays

Everyone, including Arthur Garfield Hays, knows that J. Parnell Thomas is no Communist. However, by using his methods of "guilt by association" reasoning, Hays makes a case against the chairman of the Un-American Activities Committee that on the surface appears to be damning. As yet, Thomas has remained "in contempt" of the Hays letter, and has not seen fit to answer "yes or no" to the question it asks in the first paragraph.

the members . . . and persons who actively participate in the activities of such organizations" as well as similar records of the sources from which its funds are received, and the purposes for which they are spent. The Attorney General would then notify each member that he is a member of a "Communist political" or "Communist-front" organization.

If the organization fails to register, its officers are subject to a fine of $2,000 to $5,000 and two to five years' imprisonment. Making a false statement or omitting any fact "which is required to be stated," carries the same penalty. Membership in a Communist political organization which has failed to register would entail a fine of as much as $5,000 and two years in prison if the member had "reasonable grounds for knowing or believing" that it was such an organization.

These provisions of the bill are hauntingly familiar. They would legalize the earlier efforts of the committee to obtain the records of radical or liberal organizations. But they go much farther. They would make it possible to outlaw membership in any organization opposing the bipartisan anti-Communist foreign policy. Says the bill:

> The term "Communist political organization" means any organization . . . having some, but not necessarily all, of the ordinary and usual characteristics of a political party with respect to which . . . *it is reasonable to conclude* that it is under the control of [the Communist dictatorship of a foreign country] . . . or that it is one of the principal instrumentalities utilized by the world Communist movement in carrying out its objectives. (Italics mine. – D. S. G.)

The person who will make these "reasonable conclusions" will be Thomas' comrade-in-arms, Attorney General Clark.

Naturally, the bill has Clark's warm support. Last February the committee asked him:

"You have indicated that so far as the policy of Mr. Mundt's bill, the policy of exposure, is concerned . . . that you are in agreement with that procedure?"

"Yes sir," the Attorney General replied. "I think . . . it is one of the most potent weapons."

Columnist Samuel Grafton has taken a long look at the bill and does not like what he sees. He asks, Why must there be a Mundt bill, when there are already federal laws against attempting to overthrow the government by violence? Then he answers his own question this way:

> . . . this bill does a remarkable thing. In its preamble and in its supporting verbiage, it sets up the doctrine that anybody who joins the Communist Party or who works with it or some of its members in any organization, or, even, who looks as if he does, is in effect helping to set up a totalitarian dictatorship under foreign orders.

And here, the bill ceases to be one aimed against *actions* of a certain kind

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and becomes a bill aimed against *people* of a certain kind. It sets up a punishment clause barring certain activity, and then by a sweeping legislative declaration, seeks to establish that all people of a certain kind are engaged in the prohibited activity; and that is what one means when one says that this bill allows the government to punish without having to supply proof. It is like setting up a penalty for burglary and adding a postcript to the effect that all men who wear brown hats are burglars, in which case the district attorney, presumably, need only prove that the prisoner was wearing a brown hat. (Italics mine. – D. S. G.)

The Mundt bill may serve as the master-law from which the individual states will take their cue. The bill's chief significance is that, all legal hair-splitting aside, it is a bald attempt to discredit and repress political nonconformity by legislation. Speaking of the bill, Representative F. E. Hébert (D, La.), a member of the committee, said:

"I don't care whether a group calls itself the 'Neighborhood Gossip Club,' or the 'Afternoon Pink Tea Association' or the 'Southern Conference on Human Welfare.' Whatever it calls itself, I am interested in stamping out the evil at the beginning, and I think we are in agreement on that, aren't we?"

At the hearings on the bill, Clark complained to the committee that he was unable to prove that dissenters, radicals and communists actually advocate force and violence.

The Mundt bill is designed to eliminate such difficulties. Under the bill, with no proof needed, advocating the communist form of government is itself a crime.

Clark's present difficulties are illustrated by the Schneiderman case, defended before the Supreme Court by Wendell Willkie in 1943. The court held that the defendant's citizenship could not be revoked simply because Schneiderman was a member of the Party when he was granted citizenship. The court concluded that the Communist's personal beliefs could not be "proved" by the Department of Justice because of his associations as an avowed Communist. Mr. Justice Murphy went even further in the majority opinion, stating that "a tenable conclusion . . . is that the Party in 1927 desired to achieve its purpose by peaceful and democratic means. . . ."

In the deportation trial of Harry Bridges in 1945, the court held the Immigration and Naturalization Service had failed to show that Bridges either advocated force and violence or was a Communist. Mr. Justice Murphy wrote a concurring opinion in which he said: "Proof that the Communist Party advocates the theoretical or ultimate overthrow of the Government by force was demonstrated by resort to some rather ancient Party documents, certain other general Communist literature, and oral corroborating testimony of Government witnesses. Not the slightest evidence was introduced to show that either Bridges or the Communist Party seriously and imminently threatens to uproot the Government by force and violence."

Many Americans may conclude from the bill's emphasis on Communists that it will affect only this small group of political outcasts. If they hold to this belief, they are seriously mistaken.

On May 5, Mundt announced that "Henry [Wallace] had better spend more time driving the Communists out of his own political circle"—or what? Or that under the Subversive Activities Control Act, the Third Party would be designated as a "Communist political organization." Among the contributors to Wallace's movement Mundt cited 12 persons who had "records of Communist support and sympathy, if not outright membership in the party." His list included Paul Tishman, a New York real-estate man; E. Y. Harburg, librettist of the musical comedy "Finian's Rainbow"; and Mrs. Elinor S. Gimbel, chairman of "Women for Wallace."

The Supreme Court may disagree with the Representative's ideas on this subject; it has expressed a very different view of attempts to suppress non-conformity. Writing a majority opinion in *West Virginia Board of Education v. Barnette,* Mr. Justice Robert H. Jackson said:

"Those who begin the coercive elimination of dissent soon find themselves exterminating dissenters. Compulsory unification of opinion achieves only the unanimity of the graveyard. . . . But freedom to differ is not limited to things that do not matter much. They would be a mere shadow of freedom. The test of its substance is the right to differ as to things that touch the heart of the existing order.

"If there is any fixed star in our constitutional constellation, it is that no official, high or petty, can prescribe what shall be orthodox in politics, nationalism, religion, or other matters of opinion, or force citizens to confess by word or act their faith therein."

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

EUROPA: THE BEAUTIFUL AND DAMNED

by George Mayberry

ON A JULY DAY in 1936, the young and beautiful Duchess de Arlanza floated naked in the pool of the *salle d'armes* of her Madrid palace when her middle-aged gardener brought a message to the door of the room that enclosed the pool. With the thoughtless arrogance of aristocracy she told her maid to let the gardener enter, answering the woman's "My Lady, it's a man," with, "Rómulo a man?"

This could have been the beginning of a modern counterpart of one of Balzac's or Alarçon's droll stories and the subsequent action might have followed that tradition. Worse, it could have led to the socio-sexual dialectics of the pooped aristocracy and the vigorous proletariat that reached its seamy peak in the confusions of *Lady Chatterly's Lover*. But Ramon J. Sender's brilliant short novel, *The King and the Queen* (Vanguard; $3), avoids both pitfalls: the arch and the dubious. What saves the book from easy interment, in addition to the author's rejection of a literary mold or an ideological form, is the fact that the particular day upon which the duchess carelessly exposed her body to her servant was also the day on which the fascist rebellion broke out against the infant republic of Spain.

Thus Romulo is both a soldier of the Republic and the protector of the duchess; her lover, Estéban, is both the clandestine Casanova and a Fascist bully; the cloak-and-dagger fable that follows (*fable* is used here advisedly) is set firmly in time and space. One can be no more certain of the "meaning" of *The King and the Queen* than were the first readers of *The Trial* or *The Castle*, but this brief, bewildering, tragic book is not capable of the sweeping generalizations that have pursued Kafka: this novel, whatever else it may be, is a book about Madrid in 1936.

Its richness derives for the most part from the multiplicity of the levels upon which it can be read. On one level it is the realistic, though improbably melodramatic, story of Rómulo's efforts to hide the duchess from the republican officials who have commandeered her sprawling palace. On another, it is an account of the psychological conflict engendered by the proximity of Rómulo and the duchess. On yet a third level, it is overlaid with symbols (some too obvious to be true): in particular the five-storied tower in which the duchess immures herself and which she descends floor by floor as the story progresses. Finally, it is a philosophical reflection on the immutable problems of existence. In a grotesque scene Rómulo speaks with surprising and unrealistic articulation through the duchess' childhood puppets; at the end of the book the voices of the puppets return to him. If Sender has written a "message" into *The King and the Queen*, it will be found in this hallucination. One of the puppets, Aunt Misery, was singing:

"Ring-around the roses, a pocketful of posies, old blood, new blood, we all fall down. And the law of the world, that runs and always loses."

Uncle Babu repeated:

"Everyone to the ransom of youth, from the cradle to death." Then he gave a roar of laughter.

Queen Hypotenuse seemed to be looking at the same motif of a king and queen of mother-of-pearl inlaid in the lower part of a bureau and added: "And from the shadows to the great light."

Rómulo did not know whether he had heard "the great light," or "the great night," or the blight or the plight or the fight or perhaps the kite or the bite....

Jean Malaquais' *World without Visa* is a difficult book to read and its publishers (Doubleday; $3.75) have compounded the reader's hardship by setting its quarter-million words at the rate of more than five hundred words to the page. Beyond this physical obstacle, however, lies the problem of mastering the literary form Malaquais has chosen for his novel of France, primarily Marseilles and its environs, under the rule of the Nazis and their uneasy allies of Vichy. In essence, the form is by now traditional, one might say, old-fashioned: the *roman social*. Surely Jules Romains and the middle-period Aragon (*The Bells of Basel, Residential Quarter*) offer no technical difficulties. And its most familiar American adaptation, Dos Passos' *Manhattan Transfer*, which once drew such adjectives as "broadly panoramic" and "bewilderingly kaleidoscopic," today has an antique charm. In *Kings Row* or *Raintree County* we have its embracement by the book clubs and Hollywood.

It is thus surprising that at a time when most "advanced" writers, Sender, for example, in *The King and the Queen*, are working with forms that are sharp, narrow and brief, with a minimum of character and incident, Sartre and Malaquais should choose to refurbish this well-rubbed stele.

THE AUTHORS

RAMON J. SENDER has been a citizen of the United States since 1945 and is now a professor at the University of New Mexico. He is best known, however, for two novels of his native Spain, *Iman* (in the American edition *Pro Patria*), dealing with the Moroccan war in which he served, and *Seven Red Sundays*, about the Spanish civil war in which he also fought—on the side of the Republic.

JEAN MALAQUAIS was born in Poland, but is usually thought of as a French writer. He lives at present in New York. His first novel, *Les Javanais* (known in America as *Men from Nowhere*), won the Renaudot Prize in 1939. *War Diary* (1943) told of his experiences in the French army, his capture by the Germans and his eventual escape. Like Sender, he spent some time in Mexico before making his way to this country.

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What separates the "panoramic kaleidoscope" of Malaquais from his predecessors is simply the terrifying speed with which it is whirled before the reader's eyes.

In the first quarter of the novel we are introduced to at least 25 more or less major characters and initiated into the mysteries of the American Refugee Service, the degrees of collaboration and resistance, and an elaborate candy corporation which is a front for resisters and collaborationists alike. It is a tribute to, as well as a criticism of, Malaquais' method that we are forced again and again to turn back and reread in order to pick up the significance of a person briefly introduced or the hint of an idea or an action subsequently abandoned along the way.

Certain episodes stand by themselves as if the mad gait of this carrousel were momentarily halted. An aging German couple trying to reach their wealthy sons in Brazil are stopped at the last moment by an ironical case of mistaken identity. A diabolical French detective rescues an underground fighter from the Gestapo because he desires the resister "for himself." Two "academicians" attempt to win a great French writer to the cause of Pétain. A Nazi *Hauptmann* revolts and finds himself in a concentration camp with his former teacher whom he had once slapped for being unworthy of the Leader. The son of a great anti-Stalinist Old Bolshevik turns stool pigeon. A group of twittering Vichyites hold a "clandestine" celebration of the First World War and are thrown into panic by the announcement that the Germans have occupied all of France.

In spite of what appears on the surface as cool objectivity—"the novelist as God"—Malaquais' biases are evident. And once the pace of the book has been somewhat reduced, two characters emerge who, possibly speaking for the author, bring ideas of order to the chaos that surrounds them. One, Marc Laverne, a member of a small ultra-leftist resistance group, says to a Royalist turned Communist: "The liberation of France interests me only in so far as it is an integral part of a wider reality—the revolutionary liberation of Europe. This is the only liberation I can conceive. In the measure of my means and of my strength I work for the destruction of the capitalist state. . . ." The second "hero" is Aldous John Smith, president of the American Refugee Service, who fights the Germans, Vichy and his own government to rescue those he can from the charnel house. Where for Laverne the reality is social man, for Smith it is the individual's expiation of guilt: "I aspire to earn my life: to pay the price for it, I mean. . . . I have lived so well only because others have lived so badly."

I can see little immediate hope for Europe or the world in either of these proposed roads to freedom. Laverne's orthodox Marxism has a beautiful logic and the noblest of ends; but its relation to what Trotsky liked to call the "objective historical situation" is partly reflected by the present size of the genuinely Marxist parties. And Smith's selflessness, as he is well aware, can lead to selfishness and self-destruction. But it is as a novelist that one presumes Malaquais would wish to be judged by *World without Visa,* and once the swarm of characters in the first part of the book has been mastered one comes upon a broadly conceived, brilliantly executed novel in a great tradition.

THE MAN JEFFERSON

JEFFERSON, THE VIRGINIAN, by Dumas Malone (Little, Brown and Company; $6).

THIS FIRST VOLUME of Professor Malone's projected biography of Jefferson leaves us at the moment when the great Virginian was about to embark on his journey to France. I can only say, and with eager enthusiasm, that if the next three volumes are of the same quality, we shall have, at last, a biography that not only takes account of the greatness of material so admirably organized in recent years, but one that is worthy of its exciting subject. Professor Malone differs from his predecessors in this field because his primary concern is to discover what Jefferson was really like. He is not, like Gilbert Chinard, repaying Jefferson's debt to his French contemporaries, nor, like Albert Jay Nock, transforming his hero into the fortunate projector of his biographer's ideas.

The Jefferson that Malone has drawn is a great man, on any showing. The width of his interests, the vivid and lively intelligence he brought to every subject he examined, his power to separate the significant from the insignificant, his profound and creative humanism—all these are painted with an incisive clarity which never fails to interest, and rarely seeks to go beyond the evidence for the result achieved. Without the sheer genius of Franklin, or his unsurpassed combination of wit and sagacity, Professor Malone's Jefferson is, rightly, drawn as one of the first three or four men of his age. The only gift he seems to have lacked was that of the orator. He knew how to influence and command men; he had great intellectual and moral courage; he could see the case he was arguing from the other side. He was able to live on a plane of thought high above that of the ordinary man, without ever losing the foresight for which he is unique among his contemporaries: that the test of America's success would be the elevation of that ordinary man.

Malone brings out with special skill the growth of Jefferson's political connections. It is good to have it recognized that, with all his republican and democratic principles, there was in him, and there always remained, a sense of the power to command, almost the right to rule, that marked the first gentlemen of Virginia in his day. It is astonishing to observe how swiftly he built the central framework of his ideas, and how easy it was for him to accommodate the endless new knowledge he never ceased to accumulate within that framework.

No doubt it is true that a large part of Jefferson's social and political thought was not original. If it had been, he would not have hoped to exercise anything like the influence he

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did. But what he saw, he saw with his own eyes, and expressed with a direct and eloquent vigor unrivaled in his day. Franklin had all his incisiveness, but there was lacking in him Jefferson's elegance and finish of style. John Adams equaled him in learning, but compared to Jefferson, he was heavy and over-emphatic.

I am not sure that Alexander Hamilton did not surpass him in the power to make his written argument a series of massive hammerstrokes which were cumulatively overwhelming, but there is nothing in Hamilton of that carefully insinuating persuasiveness that enabled him to convince men before they were aware that they were his intellectual captives. Jefferson was never arrogant or over-confident. He had the ability to adopt his manner to his matter so that the impressive section of the Declaration of Independence is as perfectly suited to his purpose as the almost Addisonian friendliness of the style in his *Notes on Virginia.*

Malone paints Jefferson with all his warts; and the not least impressive part of his book is the skill with which he admits their presence without permitting them to encumber the clarity of his portrait. He was an artful man in his technique of persuasion. He liked to be the *éminence grise*; he enjoyed the great game of politics as only a master of its intricacies, like Franklin Roosevelt or Winston Churchill, could enjoy them. He was skillful in knowing when to be silent; he was always able to avoid Tom Paine's great error of speaking the whole of his mind in terms that changed persuasion into challenge. But indignation could sometimes disturb his judgment; that is clear in his view of Benedict Arnold.

He could be carried away by excitement; not even Professor Malone's skill can make a serious defense of his failure to prevent the enemy's taking Richmond in the winter of 1780; Malone himself tacitly admits this in saying that "he was not the most effective of the war governors" even though he was "the greatest mind and the greatest man" among them. Nor can one deny, I think, a certain secretiveness in Jefferson, a capacity not unlike that of his eminent English contemporary, Lord Shelburne, to refrain from giving the whole of his mind. There was an inner and ultimate self in Jefferson which he kept as carefully from the public's view as did Abraham Lincoln.

It is difficult to wait for the later volumes of this fine and exciting piece of scholarship. I hope Professor Malone will not be seduced into any other task until his monument is completed. He is writing a book that may well make Americans relearn the qualities and principles which have given their country its spiritual stature in civilization.

HAROLD J. LASKI

BITTER JUDGMENT

THE STILWELL PAPERS, edited and arranged by Theodore H. White (William Sloane Associates; $4).

GENERAL JOSEPH W. STILWELL was not one to go beating about bushes when it came to expressing his opinion of men and events. In the collection of his personal journals and letters, which Theodore H. White has edited, and which covers the period from Pearl Harbor to his removal, at the insistence of Chiang Kai-shek, from command of the American forces in China, Burma and India in the fall of 1944, the frank and explosive General richly lives up to his nickname of "Vinegar Joe."

He describes Chiang Kai-shek—whom he was given to calling "Peanut" in his diary—as "obstinate, pigheaded, ignorant, intolerant, arbitrary, unreasonable, illogical, ungrateful, grasping." The Chinese Generalissimo, he noted upon many occasions, was a narrow-minded, ill-educated man who aspired to be a philosopher as well as a dictator, and was badly equipped and incompetent in both fields. He believed that the Chinese leader was completely ungrateful. "I never heard Chiang Kai-shek say a single thing," he noted, "that indicated gratitude to the President or to our country for the help we were extending him. Invariably, when anything was promised, he would want more. . . . He would complain that the Chinese had been fighting for six or seven years and yet we gave them practically nothing. It would, of course, have been undiplomatic to go into the nature of the military effort Chiang Kai-shek had made since 1938. It was practically zero." He added, presumably in July, 1944, that "the cure for China's trouble is the elimination of Chiang Kai-shek."

On the respective merits of the Kuomintang ruling clique and the Chinese Communists, he was equally outspoken. In the brief, personal shorthand that is the literary style of his journals, he noted that he judged both sides by what he saw, and that in Kuomintang-controlled China there was "corruption, neglect, chaos—economy, taxes, words and deeds. Hoarding, black market, trading with the enemy." In the same clipped fashion he set down the Communist program as "Reduce taxes, rent, interest. Raise production, and standard of living. Participate in government. Practise what they preach." He believed that, if the Communists "give up their military organization, they'll be massacred." He admired Stalin at Teheran. "It was like a blood transfusion," he said, to see him "put backbone in our gasbags."

He also admired the Russian military achievements: "What a fight the Russians have made! The nation has obviously found itself. Twenty years of work and struggle. Results: tough physique; unity of purpose; pride in their accomplishments; determination to win. . . . Every last man, woman and child in the war effort." That was what particularly impressed him. "Compare it," he wrote, "with the Chinese cesspool. A gang of thugs with the one idea of perpetuating themselves and their machine. . . . Cowardice rampant, smuggling above duty; colossal ignorance and stupidity of staff, total inability to control factions and cliques; continued oppression of masses. . . . The 'intellectuals' and the rich send their precious brats to the States, and the farmer boys go out and get killed —without care, training or leadership. And we are maneuvered into the posi-

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tion of having to support this rotten regime and glorify its figurehead, the all-wise great patriot and soldier—Peanut. My God."

White points out in his introduction that the Stilwell papers were written "in the sharp, hard language of command and bitterness" and that "there is little reflection in them of the generosity, the kindliness, the warmth of love" that made those who knew him best so loyal and devoted. But it is clear that Stilwell, for all the violent bitterness of his expression, had a genuine affection for the Chinese people, and that his scorn was a result of that sympathy. "Chiang Kai-shek," he wrote on one occasion, "is confronted with an idea, and that defeats him. He is bewildered by the spread of Communist influence. He can't see that the masses of Chinese people welcome the Reds as being the only visible hope of relief from crushing taxation, the abuses of the Army and Tai-Li's Gestapo. Under Chiang Kai-shek they now begin to see what they may expect."

Yet Stilwell had "faith in Chinese soldiers and Chinese people; fundamentally great, democratic, misgoverned. No bars of caste or religion. . . . Honest, frugal, industrious, cheerful, independent, tolerant, friendly, courteous."

It was a faith that he put to the test. When even the most chauvinistic Chinese leader was denying the possibility of going into battle against the Japanese, Stilwell was confident that the Chinese soldier, properly trained, armed and led, and safe in the knowledge that he would not be betrayed by his own officers, could sustain an offensive against a major enemy. And he was proved correct. Despite handicaps of weather, terrain, lack of support at home and in China, and the "double-crossing"—it was Vinegar Joe's expression—by Chiang and his associates, Stilwell did organize a successful campaign in Burma that, as he noted in his journal in capital letters, was "the first sustained offensive in Chinese history against a first-class enemy."

In these essentially angry and disillusioned diaries, Stilwell undoubtedly emerges as a brusque and tactless soldier who was extremely difficult to get on with and who liked few of the upper brass with whom he was associated. While he admired the Chinese common soldier and such a fighting leader as General Sun Li-jen, he disliked, with great reason, most of the Chinese higher officials, either military or civilian.

DRAWING BY ANTONIO FRASCONI

He saw British military officialdom in India at its worst, no doubt, but his bitterness toward his allies does seem too violently prejudiced for comfort or conviction. At first he was friendly toward Mountbatten, but he came to scorn and distrust him, and he obviously enjoyed describing him as "Glamor Boy."

The only British officer in India he liked unreservedly was General William J. Slim, who seemed to Stilwell an Englishman more interested in fighting the enemy than in imperial haughtiness. He is cold and curt about Chennault. On the whole he liked and got along with Stimson and Marshall, but he was suspicious of Roosevelt. He found him soft, garrulous, untrustworthy and an easy mark for the British. It is in many ways an unfair picture of FDR, but even so ardent an admirer of Roosevelt as this reviewer must confess that there is a certain truth in it.

The duality of so much of the Roosevelt personality was most evident in China. The Roosevelt name was a rallying cry for Chinese liberals, and the President's influence was unquestionably a great one for good.

Yet at the last moment, when there was a chance for us to have arranged a working agreement that might have helped Chinese political unity and done much to stop the military inefficiency and corruption of the Chiang regime, Roosevelt did back down on Stilwell and consent to his removal. The General's annoyance is at least understandable. While it is no more possible to deny the flaws in Stilwell's character than those in the personality of FDR, Stilwell was essentially a wise and lovable man, a great and good friend of the Chinese people, and a notable American soldier and hero. In White's skillful editing of his journals, Stilwell's story is a living, racy and important chapter in contemporary history. And Stilwell's advice about China is today more timely than ever. RICHARD WATTS JR.

THE MIND OF VALERY

REFLECTIONS ON THE WORLD TODAY, by Paul Valéry (Pantheon Books; $3.50).

ANY SUMMARY ACCOUNT of this extraordinary book is doomed from the start, because it comprises a record of the mind of Paul Valéry. The essays were written for the most part by an aging man for whom the world, over his long lifetime, had changed almost beyond recognition. He dedicates his "reflections" to those who "are still at liberty to question what is in doubt and not free to deny what is beyond question." One of its sentences might serve as the book's epigraph: "The age of a finite world is now beginning."

The implications of what Valéry considers in these essays he outlines as follows: "First of all the entire globe is occupied: *There is no free land left.* Secondly, there is a *growing technical equalization of peoples.* . . . Then there is an increasing need for physical energy and, consequently, for such materials as oil and coal from which it is produced. Finally there is a rapid and fantastic increase in methods of com-

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munication and transmission." And, as the crux of the problem that occupies him, this "is combined with the ponderous heritage of the ancient world, with its ancient and primitive politics."

The diminishing boundaries of the world close in on it like a straitjacket as the instability of its predicament becomes extreme. For in the resultant multiplicity of relationships, "effects are becoming so rapidly incalculable from their causes" that "every action will have repercussions on a host of unexpected interests in every quarter of the world." Logic, in politics, is a whim, and all the old, long-range statesmanship of a Caesar or a Napoleon is worth as much as a hot tip on the stock market. Against this state of affairs place an accelerated technical knowledge by which (Valéry wrote in 1938) "an unforeseen invention can change overnight all the conditions of economic or military power."

This combination might well be considered a precarious balance, but any concept of balance seems overweighted by one of prevailing ungovernable flux, a helpless joy ride on which "the world never knew less where it was going." At this headlong pace men learn to travel light and, adapting their habits of thought, "have come to consider all knowledge as transient, and all states of their industry and relationships as provisional."

Political thought is expressed "by means of impure terms, variable notions and illusory metaphors," and as against the "disordered metaphysical world" of the newspaper, Valéry faces at once the necessity of defining and testing his own terms and concepts, admitting ruefully that "any attempt at precision in such matters . . . is an amateur's province." He finds small ground on which to rest his weight. Language has deteriorated, and "what used to be believed by all, always and everywhere, no longer seems to count for much." However, he proceeds by a skepticism which almost denies the validity of the very terms which hand him along, like a ladder by which he mounts higher as every rung breaks under his weight.

An admitted incentive to these reflections is Valéry's sensitivity "to circumstances which affected a sort of virtual idea of Europe." His values are centered there and depend on the idea of European preëminence (while now "Europe obviously aspires to be governed by an American committee"). Rome controlled the world as long as it did with fewer numbers and by inferior means, and "found more just and consistent ideas in a fowl's entrails than all our political scientists can muster between them."

The fatal flaw in our political thought, he suggests, has been its subjection to history, while "the application of history to politics is so fallacious" because history "teaches strictly nothing, for it contains and gives examples of everything." Moreover, "history feeds upon history"; its events are themselves shadows of former events, so that as a precedent for political action, recorded history merely transmits the failure of the past to the aspirations of the future. In short, political man seems trapped in a habit of error; either inherited error that persists like a family affliction, or the repeated error of progressing into the future by means of concepts established in a different past and referring to that past.

In this context Valéry considers a wide range of subjects, but by a mere table of contents it is impossible to give an idea of the value and distinction of this book: the operation of a civilized mind as it inquires modestly into "the peculiar straits in which almost all of us are" in order to "integrate or reconstitute the necessity of the political universe in which he lives." The pretensions are determinedly "amateur," the manner is tentative, personal, and in the form of collected *pensées* rather than of sustained argument. The tone is pessimistic because the conditions Valéry investigates warrant nothing else. But the irony and the passionate affection of the man beautifully place the tone: "Happily, these prophecies are idle. I am doing exactly what I explained the vanity of a few moments ago. I am looking ahead, therefore I am wrong."

JOHN FARRELLY

THEATER

Spring Festival

THERE IS A VEIN of simplemindedness in our theater that becomes particularly evident in springtime when our stage sprouts "experimental" buds. . . . Agnes de Mille's "Fall River Legend" at the Ballet Theater is not, however, the best example of what I have in mind because it is long and "psychological." It is based on the Lizzie Borden murder case, and its psychology is the least convincing thing about it. Miss de Mille's gift is for humorous lyricism, a kind of energetic shyness—something like a swiftly graceful female flutter—and her ballet is best when it displays this side of her talent.

The stronger elements of the Borden story dissolve, for the most part, into scenery. That scenery—designed by Oliver Smith—is good-looking and effective, with at times a dangerous bent toward sugariness. Because she was ill at the debut, I did not see the admirable Nora Kaye, for whom the leading part was conceived. Nevertheless, since I also found Morton Gould's score competent rather than distinguished, I suspect that my final judgment on "Fall River Legend" would be that while it makes a fairly entertaining show, it is stylistically too eclectic to be taken seriously.

I would salute "The Alchemist," as given by José Ferrer, George Colouris and a generally efficient company, more for being the first of a new series of worthwhile plays at the popular-priced City Center than as a thing in itself. I could not judge from this production what the value of Ben Jonson's play might be for us today. It is a comedy of rackets—linguistically intricate, gross, high-spirited and violent, more self-indulgently and complacently crude than satiric. The company should be complimented on its audibility and assiduity, but its efforts only emphasize the difference between New York naughtiness and Eliza-

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bethan bawdiness. In the first there is something of the spoiled adolescent showing off his precocity; in the second there is a savagery of experience that, were it really conveyed, might shock us like a smack in the face with a piece of raw meat. The simplemindedness here consists in mistaking an elaborately lewd wink for a masculine performance.

The point to the revival of the old Ziegfeld musical "Sally" is Willie Howard. There are also the Kern tunes, and their sweet provinciality serves to remind us that for a tune to be good it must have shape, structure and a "face." Most of the tunes in recent musicals (those of the happily old-fashioned Irving Berlin excepted) seem like metallic clangings from the general uproar of our traffic.

Willie Howard is a treat. He is a Mephistopheles of the theatrical restaurants. He has the unctuous impudence of a prosperous loafer, the benevolent vulgarity of an all-purpose kibitzer. He is deliciously offensive. With something in his eye that is both cunning and kind, something at the tip of his shrewdly probing nose that is mischievous and friendly, he warms rather than alienates us by divesting everything of dignity.

The "Ballet Ballads" of John Latouche and Jerome Moross (the last of the season's Experimental Theater productions) have a freshness of appeal that no criticism of the separate parts can diminish. Despite the malice and sophistication of the best of Latouche's lyrics, the show as a whole is almost dewily naïve.

As a complete thing, the most satisfactory of the three ballads is "The Eccentricities of Davy Crockett," in which Hanya Holm's choreography is simple, virile, crisp and amusing without the puff and push of so many of our fancier musical-comedy ballets. "Susanna and the Elders" is musically very nice and Katherine Litz makes a pretty Susanna whose water sport is fetching. When the curtain comes down on "Susanna" we recognize that while many of its details are, formally speaking, messy, the whole is engaging.

As for "Willie the Weeper," its perpetual boogie-woogie becomes monotonous—at least in a two-piano rendition—and I found its dance design rather unimaginative, but it was redeemed for me by the presence of Sono Osato, about whose face and figure I cannot speak with proper detachment. Her dancing is witty and curvaceously elegant. This attraction, combined with a certain lurid atmosphere and "Willie's" generally contemporary mood, tends to please its audience out of proportion to its merit. But art in the theater will always have difficulty in competing with appetite.

Eddie Dowling put on Richard Harrity's "Hope's the Thing"—reviewed here when it was done by the Experimental Theater—together with two other one-act plays by the same author. All three have a straggling, shirt-sleeve feeling that smacks of the depression of the thirties. They are certainly not without authentic quality, but negligent reception by the daily press quickly killed them. HAROLD CLURMAN

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RADIO

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TWO YEARS AGO whodunits ruled the airwaves; then came the parade of the disk jockeys. Now radio is at the mercy of what this department will call the swag-bag. On these programs, the participants of America, without risking anything but their dignity, are refuting the dogma that a little learning is a dangerous thing. A parallel to the swag-bag's policy of something for nothing—or at least for precious little—is the annual award for distinguished what's-its bestowed upon broadcasters by various kibitzers. The broadcaster is supposed to make a big to-do about his prizes, even to

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the point of announcing the honor on the air. The donor thus gets a free kilocycle ride, often coast-to-coast.

A firm manufacturing apparatus supposed to help you develop faultless pronunciation recently offered an award to a Midwest station for the meticulous diction of its announcers. I was present when the outlet's manager received the great news. Knowing that acceptance involved a *quid pro quo*, he shrugged, laughed and declined to exchange an air-plug for this doubtful honor. A week later, a national network fell for the bait.

Not all of radio's awards are worthless. Those announced annually by the two trade papers, *Variety* and *Billboard*, are respected by the trade. There are useful selections by educational institutions like Ohio State University and City College of New York. The duPont and the Peabody Awards have their own importance. To these intelligent citations has now been added a list voted, and salted with adverse comments, by the Radio-Television Critics Circle of New York.

The side remarks made by the Circle, in its first annual report on the state of broadcasting, note:

. . . The gradual elimination of politically liberal commentators and the tendency of radio-broadcasters to give a one-sided interpretation of the news.

Comedy, the most popular mass-audience lure in radio, deserves a better fate. It could use new jokes, fewer localisms, less pandering to the lowest common denominator in taste and intelligence.

A deficiency in television's progress has been the immaturity of its entertainment and its failure to attract discriminating viewers. . . .

But the group found cause for commendation:

"Judging the networks in their relationship to the community, in terms of public service, responsibility, information and entertainment," the Circle cites the Columbia Broadcasting System as outstanding.

The ABC network is mentioned for its "VD" show (reviewed here last week), "Candid Microphone" and "Child's World." NBC is recognized "for doing the most to promote television in the past year," receiving applause particularly for its telecast of Arturo Toscanini with the NBC Symphony. The DuMont television program, "Court of Current Issues," is called "a novel and courageous dramatization of the public forum."

In the past year, many of the views, positive and negative, expressed by the Circle have been recorded in this department.

These include the Circle's enthusiasm for ABC's "The Greatest Story Ever Told" and NBC's "Eternal Light" as the outstanding religious programs; Mutual's nightly "Newsreel" as an interesting development in news presentation; Abe Burrows and the "Mr. ace and JANE" show for their comedy and satire; the "tolerance jingles" written by Hy Zaret, set to music by Lou Singer, produced by WNEW (New York) vice-president Ted Cott, and distributed (free) to 616 radio stations by the Institute for Democratic Education.

The Circle paid tribute to Clifford J. Durr, "symbol of public service ideals for radio," who has refused President Truman's offer of reappointment to the Federal Communications Commission.

ABC's New York key station, WJZ, made a half-hour program of the Circle's statement, thus admitting the existence of rivals and recognizing the possibility of those evils reported by the critics. Durr appeared in person and spoke briefly. His conclusion was:

In an undelivered speech prepared just before his death, President Roosevelt warned us that if civilization is to survive we must cultivate the art of human relationships. The radio critic must constantly demand that radio meet its full responsibility in the accomplishment of this vital task. Radio may be used as an instrument of information and understanding, or of suspicion and mistrust . . . to educate and to uplift or to confuse and to degrade. It can be democracy's best hope or its greatest menace—or it may become a merely colorless affair in which the good and evil so balance out that the end result is waste. It is too valuable an instrument to be wasted. It is too powerful an instrument to be abused.

SAUL CARSON

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NEW REPUBLIC

MUSIC: Cultural Lag

ONE OF THE main social pleasures of the German population of Cincinnati back in the fifties and sixties was group singing. Few more sophisticated forms of entertainment were available to Cincinnatians in those days, for the Ohio River city was still a good deal of an outpost; moreover, the middle-class Germans who were the leading citizens were raised in a tradition that held the Liederkranz, or singing circle, to be an important cultural requisite.

When Theodore Thomas came to Cincinnati to conduct the orchestra with which he pioneered in music education in the Middle West, he saw valuable potentialities in the intense but scattered activities of these hundreds of choral singers. With the aid of Mrs. Bellamy Storer, one of Cincinnati's early patrons of music, he organized in 1873 a May Festival patterned after the English festivals, in which the combined choral resources of the city were joined with an orchestra and visiting soloists for the presentation of major choral-orchestral works.

With Handel's "Dettingen Te Deum" as the biggest single undertaking, the first festival achieved so resounding a success that a permanent organization was immediately formed. In 1878 a red-brick bastion of vaguely Gothic derivation, known as the Springer Music Hall, was built to provide a 3,400-seat home for the concerts.

This year the May Festival marked its 75th anniversary with five programs. To celebrate the diamond jubilee, Fritz Busch of the Metropolitan Opera was invited to take charge as musical director, following in the train of Thomas, Frank Van der Stucken, Frederick Stock and Eugene Goossens.

A 300-voice chorus, the Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra and a roster of out-of-town soloists were arrayed on the great Music Hall stage in front of Busch. The "Dettingen Te Deum" again figured in the opening program.

To the interloper from the outside world, the 75th May Festival seemed like an instance of embalmed tradition. You could search America over without finding a more ardent attempt to resist musical and social change. Although many of the earlier festival programs had been venturesome for their day, no single piece of new or controversial music was allowed to find its way onto the golden-jubilee list. Except for the aged Richard Strauss, represented by excerpts from "Der Rosenkavalier," not a note by a living composer was sung or played. Handel, Beethoven, Mendelssohn, Brahms, Verdi, Wagner and Mahler held undisputed reign. The nineteenth-century illusion was rounded out by the Cincinnati Symphony, the only orchestra left in this country that still plays with the honorable unimaginativeness and imprecision fostered by the German-trained conductors of a generation and more ago.

The absence of young people was striking. Tickets ranged from $6 down to $2.40 ($2.40 is the top price at the New York City Center, where young people predominate). Handsome dowagers and men with white hair held court during the half-hour intermissions. And except on Saturday night, which was a sellout, rows upon rows of empty seats testified to the shrinkage of the clan.

How much longer the May Festival can endure in its present terms is anybody's guess. Its sponsors appear to believe that it is one of the eternal verities. But there are no more Liederkränze to provide a spontaneous supply of singers, and Sherwood Kains, who prepared the chorus for two seasons before Busch arrived to put on the finishing touches, had to spend a good share of his time at the telephone wheedling people into attending rehearsals. For all his efforts, the male contingent was disturbingly small, and the soprano voices revealed the strain of advancing years. The one

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really hopeful gleam in the dark cultural picture was the contribution, at the single matinee concert, of a chorus of 500 fresh-voiced, well trained boys and girls from the local high schools.

If you could put aside thoughts of the future and live in an artificially perpetuated past, the musical performances offered many rewards. One work emerged in genuinely memorable fashion—Mahler's Second, or "Resurrection," Symphony, which calls for voices in the last two of its five gigantic movements. Obviously in love with the music, Busch had rehearsed the orchestra with an attention to detail he seldom manifested elsewhere; the fourth-movement solo of Karin Branzell touched the loftiest heights of nobility; and the final choral-orchestral crescendo from a whispered pianissimo to the veritable opening of the heavens was an overpowering experience.

The soloists this year, nearly all of whom were good most of the time, included, in addition to Miss Branzell, Rose Bampton, Martial Singher, Jussi Bjoerling, Frances Yeend, Nan Merriman, an attractive lyric soprano named Shirley Russell (who had her first big-time opportunity and lived up to it) and a tenor from Sweden making an unimpressive American debut, Arne Hendricksen. CECIL SMITH

MOVIES: Second Guess

THERE WERE probably important practical reasons for showing "Fanny" in America before "Marius," its predecessor in Marcel Pagnol's Marseilles trilogy. The latter film, however, suffers by this reversal of sequence, for the impact of the characters is distorted by our knowledge of what is to happen to them, and the plot drags.

The release of "Marius" makes me fear, also, that I may have overpraised "Fanny." They are good films—far better than most pictures being released now, ten years later—but as more of the whole project unfolds, its weaknesses become more evident.

The performance of Raimu, and to a lesser extent of Charpin, is given too much license. Both actors are endowed with superbly expressive faces and great understanding of character, but they have been permitted to indulge themselves in "mugging" and "business" to the detriment of the film.

With two-thirds of the canvas now on exhibit, it becomes evident that Pagnol was seduced by the genre possibilities of his story. Too many scenes are drawn out for their "quality"; too many of them are repeated like the reprise of a successful revue song. The editors have been conscious of the picturesque, the whimsical, the touching, to the point where the pictures seem often to posture.

This backtracking on the Pagnol saga goes only so far. The films still seem to me sound and honest stories, told with regard more to human truth than to the requirements of a sensation meter. But for all their acute observation and genuine entertainment, they are cluttered with scenes the director apparently could not bear to cut. Someone more resolute could still do the job for him.

There are just enough of the scenes and situations dear to Alfred Hitchcock in "Berlin Express" to suggest what a manhunt he could stage in the ruins of present Germany. A lady could vanish with fascinating possibilities into the blasted wreckage of tottering walls and dungeon cellars that comprise the greater part of Munich, Frankfurt and Berlin today.

As for "Berlin Express" itself, the best that can be said of it is that it is long on earnestness and short on ingenuity. It tries to combine morality and melodrama and is not striking on either score.

A plea was made here recently for tolerance of Hollywood's efforts to wrestle with world affairs. The plea still stands, but there are limits to such

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indulgence. The idea of "Berlin Express" is that a German statesman, surviving from the Weimar Republic, has it within his power of eloquence to persuade the Big Four to abandon present policies and embrace the concept of a reunited Reich. The journey of this Dr. Bernhardt (Paul Lukas) from Paris to Berlin is delayed in Frankfurt by the murderous designs of a group of fanatic underground Nazis. There are more debatable assumptions, more improbabilities in this narrative than can be comfortably swallowed.

The second message of "Berlin Express" is contained in the fact that Bernhardt's rescue team comprises American, French, British and Russian representatives. Antagonistic and suspicious at first, this little group completes its business in an atmosphere of affection and respect. World brotherhood, "Berlin Express" proclaims, is the one true antidote to world conflict, thus discovering a truism that has not been widely disputed since the years of the Trojan War.

Discounting the heavy thinking, "Berlin Express" is still too routine and too untidy to rate very high as a melodrama. It fails to produce the suspension of disbelief essential to a successful thriller. We all know that the buzz saw will never part the hero's hair, but we must be persuaded into accepting that possibility for the necessary crucial moments. No one at "Berlin Express" is going to fret about Paul Lukas' fate in the hands of the Frankfurt Nazis, though some may have misgivings about his survival at the projected conferences with General Clay and Marshal Sokolovsky.

In "The Brothers," J. Arthur Rank's organization is once again exploiting the scenery of the Western Islands. It's a sensible thing to do, for no picture filmed on location in the Hebrides can be anything but beautiful. Unfortunately, it can still be silly, and this yarn of clan feuding against clan, of brother set against brother, and of Patricia Roc's violent efforts to convince Will Fyffe that she is an attractive and available member of the opposite sex makes a very foolish film.

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SUMMER SESSION

Fabian Summer School

» Those who are planning to be in Great Britain this summer may be interested to know of the Summer School of the Fabian Society. » Ever since the early days of Bernard Shaw and Sidney Webb, these annual summer schools have been a special feature in the calendar of the British Labor Movement. » The Summer School will be held this year in two places: Beatrice Webb Memorial House, Pasture Wood, near Dorking, Surrey, and Dartington Hall, Totnes, South Devon. » At Pasture Wood, the sessions will cover the three weeks of July 24 and 31, and August 7: » At Dartington Hall, they will cover the weeks of July 31 and August 7. » Visitors may register for one or more weeks.

Full information can be obtained from
MR. DAVID WILLIAMS
General Secretary, the Fabian Society
11 Dartmouth Street, Westminster,
London, S. W. 1

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It has in its favor a most unusual method of executing an informer and some colorful incidents of local custom; it has against it an implausible plot, some painfully quaint characters, a dime-dreadful villain, and the most fraudulent happy ending since Pearl White hung from a cliff.

When English pictures are bad, it is often because they are stuffy and wordy, and that may be why I recently attributed the slow and pompous "Woman in White" to Great Britain. Warner Brothers has a right to be indignant or relieved at this error, depending on the nature of its parental feelings. ROBERT HATCH

BANDWAGON

On Your Toes!

WALLACE GETS PLACE
ON MICHIGAN BALLET
– *From the Philadelphia* Inquirer.

Perish Forbid

The opposition was bitter. Representative Harold Knutson, Republican of Minnesota (a dairy state), threatened Southerners with reprisals against cotton. He said, "Textiles, the same as butter, have gone up in price. Just as sure as you do this, we are going to bring down the price of clothing." – *House debate on repeal of oleomargarine tax, quoted in the New York* Times.

The Accolade

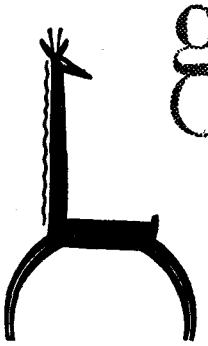
SAM GOLDWYN UPHOLDS
THE HIGH COURT
– *Head in the San Francisco* Chronicle.

Nonsense!

In many subdivisions, land sales are confined to people who possess something in common. Often a committee set up by the property owners' association will pass on the eligibility of prospective residents. At first thought, this may seem undemocratic. – *From the* Small Homes Guide.

Our readers are invited to contribute; $2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clippings. – The Editors

RESORTS RESORTS



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PAID POLITICAL ADVERTISEMENT

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